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LETTERS OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS TO ALEXANDER ^{Hill}HAMILTON
EVERETT, 1811-1837

(First Installment.)

THE originals of the following letters are in the Library of Congress. They are here presented with the courteous permission of the librarian. They are written, with apparently only one exception—the letter of December 6, 1815—in Adams's own hand. They do not give us much definite or particular information concerning any important historical facts, but they help to bring into new and higher relief some of the qualities of the writer, and they possess moreover literary charm which gives them intrinsic interest. Alexander Hamilton Everett, to whom all the letters were addressed, is perhaps best known by his literary work, although he held various public positions of importance. Born in Boston in 1790, he was graduated at Harvard, commenced the study of law in Adams's office, and in 1809 accompanied Adams on his mission to Russia. In 1812 he returned to America and soon afterwards was appointed secretary of the legation to the Netherlands (1815). Again coming back to America he was in 1818 made *chargé d'affaires* at the Hague. In 1824 he gave up this position and in the following year was appointed by President Adams minister to Spain, a position which he retained for four years. Soon after his return to the United States he became editor of the *North American Review*, a journal to which he had already contributed a number of articles, and of which his brother, Edward Everett, had for a time been editor. This position he occupied for five years; and at the same time he was a member of the Massachusetts legislature. For a short period he served as president of Jefferson College, Louisiana, but in 1845 again entered the diplomatic service by accepting the mission to China. He died in Canton, June 29, 1847 (*Niles's Register*, LXXIII. 113, 116). The letters written to him by Adams indicate in some measure the extent of his literary and scholarly attainments. He was master of an unusually good, though we should now say a formal and somewhat stilted, style. He wrote clearly and forcibly on political, financial and economic subjects, as well as on purely literary matters.

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN.

I.

M^r A. H. EVERETT —S^t PETERSBURG 2. September 1811.*Dear Sir,*

M^r Navarro¹ has already one letter from me for you ; but it has been so long written, and his departure has been so long postponed that I am afraid before it reaches your hands it will be quite out of date. Since I wrote it, we have received your favour of 13. August enclosing that of the 11th to M^r Adams.

If you had been travelling in Scotland instead of Sweden, we should certainly have concluded from a passage in the letter of the 11th that the gift of second sight had come upon you by sympathy. The second sight, I understand, beholds things as they happen, twenty-four hours before hand. Your letter of the 11th foresees the singular addition of a fair Russian in our family ; and behold on the 12th the fair Russian actually appeared. To judge from your extasies at the view of the Swedish ladies, and from certain innuendo's concerning the complexions of those you had left behind you, possibly a fair Russian is a marvel, which prophecy itself not even your own prophecy can make you believe.

I thank you much for the trouble you took to copy and send me the abstract from M^r Smith's pamphlet.² I had barely heard before I received your letter that there was such a thing, and it had much excited my Curiosity. Since then I have seen the Aurora of 26. June into which the whole pamphlet is copied. I was very sorry to see it. But there are things for which the proverb tells us there is no help.

Our tide of Americans ebbs and flows here as usual. Since you left us there have been many arrivals and some departures. The stock of your acquaintance remains much the same.

Count Pahlen³ is removed as Russian Minister, from the United States, and goes in the same capacity to the Court of Brazil. M^r Daschkoff⁴ is appointed Minister at Washington in his place. There are four Russian Gentlemen going out in the Dorothea an American vessel bound to Philadelphia — M^r Swietchkoff as Secretary of Legation, M^r Kosloff as Consul General, M^r Swienin as adjoint Consul and M^r Elidsen as private Secretary to M^r Daschkoff.

The week before last an English sloop of War, commanded by Captain Fenshaw, arrived at Reval, escorting four or five English Store-ships laden with sulphur, Saltpetre, lead and gunpowder. Captain Fenshaw wrote to his father and brothers whom you know, requesting to see them. The Store-ships came, despatched from England by the British Govern-

¹ Chevalier Navarro d'Andrade, *chargé d'affaires* from Portugal, with whom Adams had formed a pleasant acquaintance.

² Robert Smith's *Address to the People of the United States*, (Baltimore, 1811), giving an "exposition" of the circumstances which caused his resignation of the Secretaryship of State.

³ Count Theodore de Pahlen, minister to the United States from June 25, 1810, to November 14, 1811.

⁴ André de Dashkov, minister from November 15, 1811, to March 6, 1819.

ment, and their warlike burden, according to the English Newspapers was for the use of the Russian armies, to be employed against the *Common Enemy*. Those Newspapers and the ships arriving here at the same time put us all here into such a fluster, as you, who know the ground will readily conceive. There was much chuckling in one quarter. Some long faces in another. On 'change the whispering, and the buzzing, and the asserting and the denying, and the head-shaking, and the mysterious look of *Wisdom*, lasted longer than usual — four or five days at least. At last it turns out that the Emperor gave permission to General Fenshaw and his Sons to visit their Relation, on board the Sloop of War — and then he and his store-ships received a notification to depart as they came, and that if they did not go with all due speed, their next notice would be that there was still *powder* and *Bull* to spare in Russia, as much as was needed to be employed against the *Common Enemy*.

You speak of having seen Baron Engeström's library at his town-house, but do not tell me whether you had seen the Baron himself. I rather infer that he was in the Country, and of course that you had not an opportunity of delivering to him my letter. I hope you received the packet I sent you by M^r Hochschild.

We are all as well as can be expected, excepting Catherine, who has been three or four days confined to her chamber with a cough and fever; but being this day able to leave it, I hope in a day or two more she will be well again.

I am, Dear Sir, truly yours

A.

II.

A. H. EVERETT Esq^r — London.

S^t PETERSBURG 28. October 1811.

Dear Sir,

I received only at the close of last week your letter of 20. September, dated at Gothenburg. We had previously heard by letters to others of your friends here, and by accounts of travellers that you had been unwell both at Stockholm and at Gothenburg, and were therefore more than usually anxious to learn from yourself of your entire recovery. Your letter was therefore peculiarly acceptable. I only marvelled that you should have thought an apology necessary for the frequency of your writing. I have been more apt to ask myself what your apology would be for not writing oftener.

I wrote you two letters by M^r Navarro, who we suppose must have overtaken you at Gothenburg. Soon after he took his departure M^r Gray¹ and M^r Jones² left us, and proceeded together for Paris. They will there be so much nearer to you than we are that I suppose you will hear directly from them before this reaches you. M^r Jones expected to go himself to London in December. A few days after they went away there came a

¹ Francis C. Gray, who for a time was attached to the American legation in Russia. Adams's *Memoirs*, II. 3.

² T. K. Jones, a young man travelling in Europe for pleasure.

letter from you to M^r Gray. I forwarded it very soon after by a Courier dispatched by the Ambassador, and as it probably travelled faster than M^r Gray, I hope he will have found it ready for him at Paris. I have had one letter from him, dated at Berlin.

If you have met M^r Navarro, he doubtless will have mentioned to you that he was present at the Christening of my daughter, whose name is Louisa-Catherine. She has hitherto been blessed with excellent health, and I think has much improved that of her mother.

We continued at the residence on the borders of the Nevka,¹ where you left us untill the 8th of this Month, when we returned into the City, to a house in the near neighbourhood of that where we dwelt before. The Winter is setting in earlier than it did last year; or the year before; and at the moment when I am writing the Bridges are all displaced, and the river though not yet fixed is full of floating ice.

The report you heard at Gothenburg, of hostilities having already commenced, was, like the story of the Irishman's having been hanged, *premature*. It will be time enough for hostilities next Summer. But General Kutuzoff² has been beating the Turks; and we have had here almost ever since you left us, a Comet in full view, of such a bloody-minded appearance, that the *malignum vulgus* have been swearing the Peace against it without intermission. War or Pestilence you know has been shaken time immemorial from the horrid hair of Comets, and one of them will not be sufficient for this one which all the learned Astronomers tell us has got two tails.

I have not yet had the advantage of meeting either with Silliman's 'Travels,'³ or with the *Itinéraire*.⁴ If the importance of our Countryman's observations is to be measured by the specimen you have selected, I fear he will not be able to stand a contest with the Génie du Christianisme; but M^r Prevost, who has promised me the *Itinéraire*, and has read it himself says there are some important occurrences in that too. Such as a Turk's firing a pistol over his own head, to frighten the traveller; and the traveller's returning the fire in like manner, to shew his intrepidity. Also the history of sundry bastonades which he administered personally to certain other Turks or Jews or some such "circumcised dogs" by way of occasionally relieving his mind from the intensity of philosophical observation. Travellers must have the privilege of sleeping sometimes, but I know not why a Yankey traveller should require more slumber than another. After all, the anecdote told by the Yale Professor is at least more credible than the project of his rival to drain all the rivers of antient Greece, with one dash of his pen.

¹ Neva?

² Michel Ilarionovitch Kutuzov (1714-1813). From 1809-1811 he made successful war against the Turks. He is now remembered chiefly because of his struggle against Napoleon during the invasion of 1812.

³ Benjamin Silliman, *A Journal of Travels in England, Holland and Scotland and of two Passages over the Atlantic in the Years 1805 and 1806* (New York, 1810).

⁴ *Itinéraire de Paris à Jerusalem et de Jerusalem à Paris*, by Chateaubriand, the first edition of which appeared in 1811.

The most *important* Event of a public Nature, which this City has witnessed since you left it, is the consecration of the Kazan Church which took place about one month ago — and the next was the funeral service over the remains of Count Strogonoff¹ the “*Bayar*”, which was the first religious ceremony solemnized in the Church after its Consecration. It had been entirely built under the superintendence of the Count, as President of the Academy of Arts. He just lived to see the work completed, and died lamenting that as his funeral would be so magnificent, he could not be present to see it.

Among the Americans who have lately arrived here, is an acquaintance of yours, a young Mr Ingraham of Boston. He was at Gothenburg, but on Board ship while you was in that City, and I believe on the very day of the date of your letter, was disappointed of a visit he was going to make you on shore, by a signal to sail.

I am with great regard and esteem, Dear Sir, your friend and h^{ble} Serv^t

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

III.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT Esq^r — London.

S^t PETERSBURG 26. January 1812.

Dear Sir.

On the cover of my last Letter to you, I minuted the receipt of your favour of 5. Dec^r enclosing the message, which I had received after having closed the letter itself. But Mr Williams, one of our Countrymen, who arrived last Summer at Archangel, being now on his way home goes with a Courier's Pass and my despatches, and I take the opportunity to thank you more particularly for this attention, and the others which you have had both in Sweden and in England of communicating to me important intelligence from our Country.

We are all in a state of convalescence from a certain distemper called the *grippe*. I know not why unless it be because it seizes people by the throat. I have it in express charge to ask you again for the *long* anecdote which you heard at Stockholm and which you did not relate, on the presumption that we had heard it before.

If you were a woman, I would tell you of all the marriages among the batchelors and virgins of this Court that are in a process of consummation or of negotiation. Marriage is to the ladies a topic so interesting per se. that they need no acquaintance, still less friendship with the parties to hear with some sort of feeling of every individual case in which it occurs. But why should I tell you of weddings between People for whom you and I have no other regard than as they belong to the Species.

The political rumours in Circulation are all of a pacific character. Peace with the Turks is supposed to be concluded, but has not yet come in official shape. Peace with France still subsists, and it is said is more

¹ Probably Alexander, Count Strogonov, 1734–1811, grand chamberlain and president of the Académie de Beaux Arts.

likely to subsist further than was expected last Summer. There is another Peace *de facto*, which will probably continue without the assistance of Treaties or Conventions.

I am, with great esteem and regard, Dear Sir, your friend and humble Serv^t

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

IV.

Mr A. H. EVERETT —

St PETERSBURG 10. April 1812.

Dear Sir.

I have received your favour of 3. Jan^r from London, forwarded by Mr Navarro, and although uncertain whether this letter will find you still in England, I will not pass by the opportunity of thanking you for it.

Your representation of the state of things in England, though far from being drawn in dazzling or even in gay colours, has I am convinced the more substantial merit of truth. Almost all the English travellers who have for some years past favoured the public with their observations made in America have thought proper to represent our National character as vicious, upon no better foundation than that they had witnessed in America, individual instances of Vice. The Edinburgh Reviewers, with an eye of philosophical penetration worthy of Peter Pindar's magpie peeping into a marrow-bone, prophecy that the American character, which they pronounce positively bad now, will be greatly improved, when Wealth comes to be more generally *inherited* than *acquired*.¹ If for all the moral and political pollution that the whole manufactory of English dragnets has been able to gather from all the foul bottoms of the American Continent, our improvement from the prevalence of hereditary wealth, is to consist in a substitution of *innumerable* nightly assassinations, burglaries and larcenies — Lud's men² to break stocking weavers' frames, and Irishmen to knock down for sport people as they are coming out of Church — Catholics driven to rebellion by religious persecution, and a master sacrificing his friends, his friendships and his principles for "*Panem et Circenses*", I would put it as a problem to the arithmetical acuteness of the Edinburgh Philosophers, *how much* we shall be gainers by the exchange?

I have seen in some of the newspapers that the Attorney General, Sir Samuel Romilly, in speaking officially of some of those dreadful

¹ In a review of *Travels in America* (London, 1809) by Thomas Ashe. The reviewer is not unfriendly in his tone and does not approve Ashe's efforts to "have us believe that the Americans are universally and irreclaimably vicious." "When wealth comes to be more generally inherited than acquired, there will be more refinement, both in vice and in manners: and as the population becomes centred, and the spirit of adventure is deprived of its objects, the sense of honor will improve with the importance of character." *Edinburgh Review*, XV. 442.

² The reference is of course to the breaking of machinery in the Luddite riots of the time. As to origin of name see Traill and Mann, *Social England*, v. 841.

enormities mentioned in your letter, lamented them as indications of a character peculiarly vicious in the English Nation. The remark might be proper in a public officer whose duties are in some sort those of a *Censor Morum*, but it would not be liberal in a foreigner, to consider transactions of such a nature as evidences of National Character. I do not so consider them. But they may fairly be taken as presumptive proofs that the representations of unparalleled virtue, and superhuman felicity, which *American* Painters have drawn as characteristic attributes of the English Nation, are as wide from the real truth, as the *Smelfungus* colouring of the British Travellers in America. This contrast of falsehood between the English pictures of America, and the American pictures of England has struck me as peculiarly remarkable, and has in no small degree mortified my patriotic feelings as an American. Its effect in our own Country has been doubly mischievous, by exciting among many of our young minds a disgust and contempt of their Countrymen, and an extravagant and foolish admiration of another Nation. I am very glad that *you* have had an opportunity of observing for yourself the real condition of Nature, of Men and of Society in England. I will not say that its tendencies will be to produce a salutary review of some of your own prejudications; but I hope and believe it will tend to correct some of the prejudices of others. You have doubtless seen much to admire, and you have too much Justice and good-sense to depretiate that which is estimable, for the place where it is found. But there is withal in England a Spirit of arrogant pretension, and a gloss of splendour, which may be seen through, without any great depth of penetration. I am well assured and the persuasion gives me pleasure, that on your return to our native shores you will be able from the heart to say with Voltaire's *Tancrède* "Plus je vis d'Étrangers, plus j'aîmai ma Patrie".

As it appears that the British Government, still deem an adhesion to their Orders in Council expedient, I see no prospect of an amicable or indeed of any other arrangement of their disputes with America. Their present professions of amity and conciliation appear to be borrowed from the practice of their own Gentlemen of the Road, who take a Traveller's purse with all possible amenity and decorum. I think however their present partiality to the Orders in Council proceeds from the belief, not without reason, that they will produce a rupture between France and Russia. A very few Months will discover to the World, though probably not to them on what foundations this reliance stands.

You know the only glimpses we can catch of English Literature, are an occasional pamphlet or Review, brought by a Traveller to amuse him on the road. Mr Patterson last Summer brought some of the then latest numbers of the *Edinburgh Review*, in one of which I met that *oracular* sentence upon the National Character of the Americans, which I have just alluded to. There too I found a long, and much more amusing account of the *Curse of Kehama*:¹ it excited the wish to see the Book

¹ *The Curse of Kehama*, by Robert Southey (London, 1810).

itself. The mode of reviewing, practiced by the Edinburgh Critics is new, and they have made it fashionable. They give the title of a book, and then publish a Dissertation of their own upon the subject of which it treats. Their Essays are tingured with strong prejudices, mingled up with a curious compound of scholastic dogmatism, and fine gentlemanliness. I remember reading an Account in one of their former numbers, of a voluminous edition or translation of Sallust, in which they said *they* had been accustomed to read Sallust in books *about the size of a hand at whist*. I read however almost all their Treatises; and many of them with entertainment and instruction. In the Review of the Lady of the Lake¹ there is a disquisition upon the sources of Walter Scott's popularity as a Poet, with which I was very much pleased. Some of its ideas are repeated in the review of Southey's *Curse*—and while they tell us here how Mr Southey does not do so and so like Mr Scott, they inform us on the other hand how Mr Scott does not use the machinery of Mr Southey. *Don Roderick*,² I have not yet seen, but among the readers of Poetry here there are some who have and who say it is the author's Master Piece. That I suppose, is because, as was said to account for the vogue of another book, it is Poetical, Political and Personal. If Don Roderick is a great admirer of Lord Wellington, he ought to give at the same time his candid opinion of the Duke of Albufera.

I condole with you upon the extinction of that illustrious luminary of letters and Science the monthly Anthology.³ If the General Repository of Literature,⁴ gives but once a quarter to the Public as much wit and as much Wisdom, as the Anthology was wont to emit every Month, it will deserve as long a life, and enjoy as fair a prospect of immortality.

It may awaken some of your most familiar, if not your warmest recollections of Russia, to tell you that hitherto, we have scarcely the slightest indication of the breaking up of Winter. In reference merely to the thermometer it has been the mildest of the three that we have overlived here; but the Neva has already been solid very little short of six Months, and the Snow is at this moment as deep or deeper than it has been at any part of the Season. To us it has been a Winter of sickness and affliction. My family remains as when you left us; excepting the addition of our daughter.

I have little to say about the political aspect of affairs, because wherever my letter may find you, it is probable the expected War will have had the start of it. From the manner in which France and Russia are holding the sword over each others head it would seem that both parties "no second stroke intended". All the regiments of Guards have already marched from St Petersburg; the Minister at War, who is

¹ *Edinburgh Review*, XVI. 263-293.

² *The Vision of Don Roderick*, published July 15, 1811.

³ *The Monthly Anthology and Boston Review*, published from 1803 to 1811. Everett was himself a contributor. The paper was used by the Anthology Club of Boston as a vehicle of communication with the public.

⁴ *The General Repository and Review*, which began to be published in Cambridge in 1812.

the Commander in Chief of the principal army, and the Grand Duke are gone, and the Master goes perhaps to-morrow. The Ambassador and the Ministers of the Confederation are still here, but on the wing. Two persons of high distinction have been dispatched very lately to Siberia, or — elsewhere.

I am, Dear Sir, ever truly your's

A.

V.

A. H. EVERETT Esq^r Boston.

Ghent 16. July 1814.

Dear Sir.

The pleasure that I never fail to derive from your Communications has hitherto been attended by two Circumstances, the impression of which upon my mind has been to give them additional value, though in their own Nature such as I could not but regret. The first is the length of time that elapses between them; and the second the lapse of time after they are written, when I have the good Fortune to receive them. Since your return to the United States, this enjoyment has befallen me but twice — first by your letter of 12. February 1813. which I answered on the 10th of the ensuing June; and secondly by yours of 25 June 1813. which in little less than twelve Months from its date was received by me on the Road from Stockholm to Gothenburg, in the Night of the 2^d and 3^d of the last Month. I had myself written to you on the 10th of October 1812. in answer to your last Letter from England, forwarded by M^r Poletica.¹ I am not without apprehension that you have never received this, for I know that a Letter to another of my friends in America, nearly of the same date, and sent by the same conveyance was not received by him so late as in January last. I gave them both to a M^r Jackson of Newbury-Port, whom I furnished with a Courier's Passport, and who also took Dispatches for the Government. I have understood that he arrived in America in March 1813, and I believe that he transmitted to Washington the Dispatches. What disposal of the private letters he made, I am not informed. That for you, I was especially desirous that you should receive in due time, because it contained the Certificate which you had requested in your Letter from London. I would now send you a duplicate of both, but the Certificate would be useless to you, and the Letter has nothing in it to deserve that a second copy of it should be taken, particularly, as I have not here the aid of any Secretary.

I have also reason to fear that my Letter of 10 June 1813. had not been received by you so late as the 16th of March last. I gave it to M^r J. W. Smith, who was going to London, and who died there in February. Other Letters which I sent at the same time by M^r Tilden reached their destination in due Season, but I know that one of the Letters taken by M^r Smith, and which was to my Mother had not been received by

¹ Pierre de Poletica, formerly secretary of legation under Count Pahlen in America.

her, and I have no reason to hope that the others which I committed to the same Gentleman were more fortunate.

If these conjectures are well founded you have not yet since your return to the United States, received one Letter from me, and you have cause to think me a Correspondent more neglectful, or at least deficient in punctuality, than I would willing be thought by any person who takes the trouble of writing to me; and most especially by you to whom I should be peculiarly solicitous of appearing in the light the most opposite to that of negligence. I mentioned in my last Letter to you that I had received and read with *poetical* Pleasure your brother's *ψ. β. κ.* poem,¹ though I had not been equally gratified by its *political* complexion. I have learnt since then, from my Mother, that he has assumed the arduous and honourable task of succeeding our lamented friend Buckminster; an occasion upon which he might emphatically say "who is sufficient for these things".² I have the satisfaction of being one of the Proprietors in that Church, and I look forward with pleasure to the period, when with my family, I shall be an habitual attendant upon his ministration. I will not promise to agree with him in Politics, nor even in religious doctrine; but there is one, and that the most essential point upon which I am confident we shall never disagree — I mean Christian Charity.

I regret that with your Letter I had not the pleasure of receiving the copy of your address to the Charitable Fire Society, and I have heard from other Quarters of certain political Speculations of yours, which I have more than one reason for wishing to see. As your design of entering upon the field of public discussion has been carried into Execution, and as American Principles are the foundation of the system to which you have pledged your exertions, you will not doubt the interest which I shall take in every step of your career. Notwithstanding the inauspicious appearances of the present moment, I humbly trust in God, that American Principles will ultimately prevail in our Country. But should it be otherwise; in the inscrutable decrees of Divine Providence, should the greatness and Prosperity, to which the continuance of the Union cannot possibly fail of exalting our Native Country, be deemed too great for mortal man to attain; should we be destined to crumble into the vile and miserable fragments of a great Power, petty, paltry principalities or Republics, the tools of a common Enemy's malice and Envy, and drenching ourselves age after age in one another's blood: far preferable should I deem it to fall in the Cause of Union and of Glory, than to triumph in that of Dismemberment, Disgrace and Impotence. As Christians, whatever befalls us or our fellow men we must submit to the Will of Heaven; but in *that* case I should be tempted to say with Lucan "Victrix Causa Dis placuit, Sed Victa Catoni."

¹ The subject was "American Poets". See "Tribute to Edward Everett" by George Ticknor, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, 1864-1865, p. 134.

² Edward Everett, then not twenty years of age, succeeded Joseph Stephen Buckminster as minister of the Brattle Street Church in Boston.

The failure of the attempt at Negotiation under the mediation of the Emperor of Russia, by the refusal of the English Government to treat with us under that mediation has long since been known to you; and before this Letter comes to your hands you will have learnt how and why the substituted Negotiation which was to have been held at Gothenburg has been transferred to this City. The Original proposal of Gothenburg, and the removal hither were both suggested on the British side, and merely assented to on our part. I have been here upwards of three weeks, waiting only for British Commissioners, who might at any time be here in three days, and who well know that all the members of the American Mission are here. From these Circumstances you may judge of the disposition of the British Government with regard to Peace, and probably you may have very shortly still more decisive evidence to the same point.

Of the late Revolutions on the Continent of Europe it is scarcely possible to speak without prejudice in reference to the past, or without presumption with regard to the future. The minds of men are still too much heated on all sides to form a deliberate judgment, either upon the nature and tendency of Events, or upon the character and conduct of persons. The only thing of which there can be no question is the overthrow of the Power of France, accomplished by the overthrow of Napoleon Buonaparte. France from the first can scarcely claim the fourth place in the Rank of European Nations. From the Mistress she has become the foot-ball of Europe. It is for the Bourbons to *restore* her to her place, as she, or rather England, has restored them to their's. I wish they may prove adequate to the task.

I am, Dear Sir, sincerely and faithfully your's

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

VI.

A. H. EVERETT Esq^r The Hague.

LONDON 27 July 1815.

Dear Sir

Your favours by M^r Dana, by the two M^r White's, and by your brother had been received by me, since my arrival here; and I had been apprehensive that your voyage would still be postponed; so that your's of the 17th from the Hague would have been an unexpected pleasure, but for the previous arrival at Liverpool of the Panther, one of whose Passengers informed me that she had sailed from Boston, the same day with the Congress.

I congratulate you upon your introduction to the regular diplomatic career. When M^r Smith had concluded last Summer to return to the United States, I wrote to the Secretary of State, requesting that if I was to return to Russia, you might be appointed Secretary to that Legation. As there was then no prospect that the Negotiation at Ghent would terminate in Peace, and consequently none of a mission to this Country, I merely added that if such a mission had been the result of the Negotia-

tion, and confided to me, as I had received notice was the President's intention, I should still have requested that you might be the Secretary to the Legation. That my recommendation of you was earnest I now the more readily avow, because I gave by it a large pledge to the Government of our Country, which it is for you to redeem. I assured the Secretary of State, that in presenting you to the President's Consideration, I was governed more by motives of zeal for the public service, than of personal friendship for you. My Sentiments are still the same. For my own satisfaction, and for the pleasure of your Society I wish that you had received the appointment, as Secretary to this Legation. I shall write to the Secretary of State, and renew the request that you may be appointed to it. But for the public Service, and for your own advantage, you are for the present at least, perhaps as well, perhaps better situated than you would be here. My own residence here will very probably be short. Every American who has resided so long as five or six years in Europe, ought to go home to be *new-tempered*. I recommend this to your future practice, as during my whole life, I have found the benefit, and necessity of it for my own.

At an earlier and more perilous age, you have once passed unhurt through the ordeal of European Seductions and Corruptions. I have the confident hope that one victory will be the earnest of another. But you will not deem it impertinent if I intreat you to "keep your heart with all diligence".* The fascinations of Europe, to Americans situated as you are and may hereafter be, present themselves in various and most dissimilar forms — Sensuality — Dissipation — Indolence — Pride, — and last, and most despicable, but not least — Avarice. This though not so common as the rest is not less dangerous and not less to be avoided. It appears in temptations to trading speculation or stock-jobbing, upon the basis of information to which your public station only gives you access. Perhaps you may not be exposed to this species of allurements. And if you should I am sure you will need no warning voice to preserve you from it.

I have many very pleasing recollections of the Country, and particularly of the spot where you reside. I inhabited the Hague, at several different, and always at interesting periods of my life. You will find it necessary to be particularly attentive to your health, as foreigners who reside some time in Holland are often subject to attacks of intermittent fevers. The Hague is however more favourably situated than Amsterdam.

You will oblige me, by enquiring if a family by the name of *Veerman*, *Saint Serf*, now reside at the Hague; and if they do, by calling upon them, with my compliments and kind remembrance. The Lady, is the daughter of a M^r Dumas, who during the War of our Revolution was agent for the United States at the Hague, and after the War was for some time Chargé d'Affaires. When I was last at the Hague, from 1794 to 1797, she was married to this M^r Veerman and had two or three children. I passed through the Hague last Summer on my way to Ghent, but could not stop even to alight from the Carriage. I have not heard

from this family for many years ; but it would give me great pleasure to be informed of them, and especially of their welfare.

M^r Buchanan does me the favour to take charge of this Letter. He is strongly recommended to me, by several highly respected friends, and I am persuaded you will find in him an agreeable associate. Let me hear often from you, and believe me truly your's

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

VII.

A. H. EVERETT Esq^r — The Hague.

BOSTON HOUSE, EALING — NEAR LONDON 31. August 1815.

Dear Sir.

I find upon my files a friendly and very agreeable Letter from you, dated Boston 28. Oct^r 1814. which I received on the 24th of March last at Paris. I did not then answer it, because I knew already of your destination to Europe, and I can now only acknowledge the receipt of it, because M^r Langdon, who is kind enough to take this Letter, goes immediately, and I have the receipt of two other favours from you to acknowledge. They are of the 3^d and 9th instants, the former by M Haven, with a Copy of the new Constitution of the Netherlands, for which I thank you.

Your project of occupying your leisure by a historical sketch of the Country where you reside, I have no doubt will prove useful to yourself and to others. The whole interest of the Dutch history is concentrated in the Period of its existence as a Republic ; which began at the separation of the Country from the dominion of Spain, and ended by the invasion of the French in 1794. There is now again an Independent Government — but it commences as a Monarchy, without any distinctive Characteristic. The Republic is no more ; and the Nation is no longer the same.

Among your occupations I would recommend to you that of making yourself completely master of the French language — to write it, as you do your own. It is the diplomatic language of the whole European Continent, and I wish you to possess it so as never to depend upon a translator. This is the only Country in Europe, where the French is of no use to a foreign legation.

Should I return the ensuing Spring to the United States, as is highly probable, it will be solely with the view of attending to my private concerns ; to see once more my aged Parents, and to devote my time to the education of my Children. I shall have no objects of a public Nature whatsoever ; and to be candid, the conclusive inducement to return will be the want of means to remain where I am.

Wherever I may be, there you will have a sincere and faithful friend.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

VIII.

A. H. EVERETT Esq^r — The Hague.LONDON 6th Dec^r 1815.*Dear Sir*

Since I wrote you last, I have had the pleasure of receiving four Letters from you. The first of June 25th 1813 was presented by M^r Coffin ; the second of 31st of July last by your elder Brother ; and the others, of 31st August and 4 of Oct^r the receipt of which I should not have been so long in acknowledging, but for an inflammation of the eyes, similar to that with which you may remember I was once afflicted at S^t Petersburg ; but much more severe and of much longer continuance. It has for nearly two months in a great measure deprived me of the use of the pen, and still obliges me to write by another hand.

I am very glad that you have made the acquaintance of my friend, (if I was not speaking of a Lady, I should say, my very old friend) Madame Veerman, and her family. True it is, that I have many times held both her daughters, respectable Matrons though now they be, upon my knees : but that was far from being my first acquaintance with her ; I have seen her as fair a blossom as any of the Gardens of Harlem ever produced ; and in the change of Features upon her countenance, between that period, and the time when I found her married and the Mother of two Children, I have some reason for supposing that the Grandmother of this day must retain few traces of the Virgin bloom which more than thirty years ago I saw upon her face. I pray you to present my best respects to her and to her daughters, who I am glad to hear are married and I hope are well settled in life.

I have been much edified by the philosophical and benevolent reflections which your visit to Bruxelles and the Inauguration or Coronation combined with the Field of Waterloo excited in your mind. They appear to me to be far preferable to the Poetical inspiration which M^r Walter Scott found, or at least went to seek upon the aforesaid field. I have heard and read something before about a week at Bruxelles, and a famous Tree where the Hero who was then *bankrupting* a Nation's gratitude is said to have remained, though not to have reposed, during a part of the first day's action. The Ancient sage Philosopher in Hudibras could prove, you know, that the world was made of fighting and of love, and I cannot imagine any means so effectual for promoting your project of perpetual peace as an enactment of an universal law that the shelter of the Tree of Waterloo shall henceforth be exclusively reserved for the belle Alliance which was sheltered by the Tree of Nivelles.

There was nearly a century ago a poor French Abbé named S^t Pierre,¹ who published in three Volumes a project for perpetual peace between the Powers of Europe which he sent to Cardinal Fleury, whose dear delight was Peace. The Cardinal's answer to him was "vous avez oublié Monsieur, pour Article preliminaire, de commencer par envoyer une

¹ Charles Irénée Castel de Saint Pierre (1658-1743), Abbé de Tiron. His *Projet de Paix Perpetuelle*, in three volumes, was published in 1713.

Troupe de Missionnaires, pour disposer le coeur et l'esprit des Princes''. This little difficulty suggested by the Cardinal still subsists; and if in the pursuit of your plan you should avoid committing the Abbé's error, and send your Troup of Missionaries there would still be the chance whether they might be all gifted with the power of persuasion sufficient to ensure their success; besides the possibility that the Missionaries themselves might require a second band of pacific Apostles, to keep them faithful to their duty.

But not to trifle upon so serious a subject; Peace on Earth and good will to Men. was proclaimed nearly two thousand years since, by one with whose authority no human power is to be compared. It was not only proclaimed, but the means of maintaining it were fully and most explicitly furnished to Mankind. This authority is acknowledged, and its precepts are recognized as obligatory, by all those who exhibited the practical comment upon it in the Field of Waterloo. It is most emphatically acknowledged, by the most Christian personages who are yet commenting upon it, in the Dungeon's of the Spanish Inquisition, and in the Butcheries at Nismes.

With these results of the holy War for the preservation of social order and of Religion yet glaring before me, I cannot promise you very speedy success in the laudable purpose of eradicating the seeds of discord from the human heart. But if in your disappointment you stand in need of consolation, I recommend to your meditations the Theory of the ingenious M^r Malthus.¹ He perhaps may prove to your satisfaction that the real misfortune of Europe is to be overburthened with Population; or if he should fail in that, he may at least convince you that the population of Europe is neither more nor less for such Fields as that of Waterloo. The number of Officers who gloriously fell upon that memorable day, made no chasm in the Military establishment of the Conquerors. The London Gazette within ten days afterwards filled up all the vacancies which that day had made in the British Army and M^r Malthus insists that it is precisely the same with the process of population: that wherever one mouth is removed, another will immediately be produced to take its place. If this theory be just, you might perhaps find occasion to re-consider the project of perpetual peace even if it should be practicable: for it would be necessary to take into the account, the mass of glory which you would deprive so many Heroes of acquiring, in exchange for their worthless lives, and also the immense multitudes of little candidates for existence, whom you would cruelly debar from the possibility of coming into life. It would be a sort of murder of the Innocents, that would out-Herod Herod.

I am informed that there is in this Letter a mixture of solidity and

¹ An interesting statement in light of the fact that Everett later devoted considerable attention to the theories of Malthus. See his *Europe: or a General Survey of the Political Situation of the Principal Powers with Conjectures on their Future Prospects* (London and Boston, 1822); also *New Ideas on Population with Remarks on the Theories of Goodwin and Malthus* (Boston, 1823).

levity which makes it proper to bring it to a conclusion. I have as yet no answer from the Government to the proposal which I made for an exchange which would give me the benefit of your assistance, but I have intimations from a private source, that a different arrangement has been made. I shall regret the circumstance on my own account, though in the present condition of my Eyes, it will probably be an advantageous one to you. I wrote last Week to M^r Eustis, and beg to be remembered kindly to him now ; being with the highest regard and esteem Dear Sir, your friend.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

IX.

A. H. EVERETT Esq^r Secretary of Legation of U. S. The Hague.

EALING NEAR LONDON 16. March 1816

Dear Sir.

Since I had the pleasure of last writing you, three of your favours have come to my hands. The first dated 11. March 1815. at Boston, which you had given as a Letter of recommendation to M^r Copeland. By some accident he left it at the New-England Coffee-House in London, where it remained forgotten in a drawer, with several others from my family-relations, from April when M^r Copeland arrived in England, until the beginning of January, when the Master of the Coffee-house found it, and sent it to me. Your second Letter the receipt of which I am to acknowledge is of 13. December last, and was brought by M^r Apthorp. The third of 21. Dec^r introductory to M^r Chad, who is to go out as Secretary of the British Legation to the United States. I have hitherto missed of the pleasure of seeing this Gentleman, but hope to have it this day.

Your Letter of 11. March 1815. principally relates to two subjects, now obsolete enough ; but one of which, the Victory at New Orleans, will always be in Season, to the memory of Americans ; and the other, the Peace of Ghent, will I hope prove to be likewise composed of durable materials. Judging, as the character of all political measures should be judged, from the existing Circumstances of the Time, the Peace was undoubtedly seasonable, and was probably as good a one as could then have been obtained ; but all who like you, have devoted their lives to the honour and welfare of their Country, will remember that the Peace did not obtain the objects for which the war was waged. From which every mind not besotted by the Spirit of Faction, may draw two conclusions — one of caution against commencing War, without a fair prospect of attaining its objects, as well as a good cause. The other that the object of the last War, must perhaps, and not improbably be fought for again. In an enlarged point of View, the War was much more beneficial than injurious to our Country. It has raised our national character in the eyes of all Europe. It has demonstrated that the United States, are both a military and a naval Power, with capacities which may hereafter place them in both these respects on the first line among the Nations of the Earth. It has given us Generals and Admirals, and subordinate officers by land and sea, to whom we may hereafter look with

confidence for the support of our national rights and interests in War, if the necessity should recur. It has partly removed the prejudice against that best and safest of National defences, an efficient Navy. And it has shewn us many secrets of our own strength and weakness, until then, not sufficiently known to ourselves, and to which it is to be hoped we shall not hereafter wilfully shut our eyes. But some of the worst features in our composition that it has disclosed are deformities which, if not inherent in the very nature of our Constitution, will require great, anxious and unremitting care to enable us to outgrow them. The most disgusting of them all, are the rancorous spirit of faction, which drove one part of the Country headlong towards the dissolution of the Union, and towards a treacherous and servile adherence to the Enemies of the Country. This desertion from the standard of the Nation, weakened all its exertions to such a degree, that it required little less than a special interposition of Providence to save us from utter disgrace, and dismemberment, and although the projects of severing the Union were signally disconcerted by the unexpected conclusion of the Peace, they were too deeply seated in the political systems as well as in the views of personal Ambition, of the most leading men in our native State to be yet abandoned. They will require to be watched, exposed, and inflexibly resisted, probably for many years.

You have doubtless been informed that a few days after I last wrote you, Mr J. A. Smith arrived here, as Secretary of Legation to this Court and since the meeting of Congress his appointment has been confirmed by the Senate. Whether the Government inferred from his personal relation to me, that this appointment would of course be agreeable to me, or whether it was made upon distinct Considerations, and without reference to my wishes at all, I think it necessary, from what had previously passed between you and me to state, that your name is the only one that I ever recommended to the Government for the Office, and that although I knew he had been recommended for it by others, his appointment to it, was altogether unexpected by me, until I was informed it had actually taken place.

It is natural that you should entertain some solicitude, with regard to your future prospects, and your idea is just that the situation of Secretary to an American Legation in Europe is no permanent Prospect for a condition in Life. The Government of the United States have no system of diplomatic gradation, and the instances of Persons who have commenced as Secretaries of Legation, and afterwards received higher appointments have been very few. But the reason of this has been, because most of the Secretaries have been young men, who obtained the appointments by the influence and solicitations of their friends, and who after obtaining them think much more of their own pleasure than of the public service. They come to Europe not to toil, but to enjoy, To dangle about Courts, and solace themselves for the rest of their lives, with the delightful reflection that Kings or Princes have looked at them — to see sights — to frequent theatres, Balls, Masquerades and fashionable Society.

I speak not of those who have sunk into baser and more vicious pursuits. Nor of those who come to make themselves scientific, or virtuosi. Scarcely one in fifty ever came to do his duty, and nothing but his duty, Or to devote his leisure to the acquisition of the proper diplomatic knowledge. The habits of life into which they fall relax their industry into indolence and turn their activity to dissipation. They go home with heads as empty, and with hearts fuller of vanity than they came — generally with a hankering to return to Europe, and almost always with a distaste to the manners, and institutions of their own Country. Disdaining or disqualified to take a part in its public affairs, and incapable of making themselves necessary, either to the General Government, or to any of the political parties in the Country.

Nothing of all this applies to you. Had your station been assigned to the Mission here, you would have found that the mere drudgery of the Office would have absorbed all, and more than all your time. At the Hague you have much leisure, and I am quite sure you are making good use of it. You will never for an instant forget that you are responsible to your country for the employment of every hour. That every moment not devoted to the discharge of present duty, must be given to the acquisition of future capability. You will never adopt the fancy of the School-boy, who left School and went home, because he had *learnt out*. But as you have asked my advice, I cannot in candour recommend it to you, to remain long in your present station under the idea that it will lead to something better. After a suitable period, properly employed, I should say, return home, and resume your station at the Bar. Take an interest and exercise an influence in the public affairs. You must steel your heart, and prepare your mind to encounter multitudes of political enemies, and to endure all the buffetings, without which there is no rising to distinction in the American world. When the knaves and fools open upon you, in full pack, take little or no notice of them, and be careful not to lose your temper. Preserve your private character and reputation unsullied, and confine your speculations upon public concerns to objects of high and national importance. You will certainly be favoured with no Patronage, political or professional by the prevailing party at Boston, but you must make your way in opposition to and in defiance of them. Their system is rotten to the core, and you may render essential service to the Nation, by persevering exertions against it. I will give you one word, which you may lay down as the foundation of the whole political system, to which you may boldly and safely devote from this moment all the energies of your character, all your talents and all your Genius — that word is *Union*. Let that be the centre, from which all your future exertions emanate, and to which all your motives tend — let your conduct be at once bold, resolute, and wary — preserve inflexibly your personal independence, even while acting in concurrence with any party, and take my word for it, you will not need to go in search of public-Office, at home or abroad. For Public-Office, at home or abroad, at your option will soon come in search of you.

Be good enough to present my best remembrance to M^r Eustis, to whom I am yet indebted for a letter, and propose shortly to write. M^r Apthorp did not bring Turreau's book upon America.¹ That illustrious Vendean General told me last Spring that he intended to publish a Book against us. I did not think the worse of him or of ourselves for that. Laudari a laudato has a counterpart, which will easily reconcile me to his vituperation.

Our accounts from the United States, do not appear propitious to your projects of perpetual Peace. Onis the Spaniard,² they say, has sprung a mine at Washington and gone off. But I have not room to expatiate, and must remain ever faithfully yours.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

X.

A. H. EVERETT Esq^r Boston.

WASHINGTON 28. Sept^r 1817³

Dear Sir,

During the few days that I passed at Boston, I called several times both at your house and at your Office, for the purpose of having some conversation with you as well upon the subjects referred to in your Letter of the 23^d inst^t which I received yesterday, as upon some others. My last visits were on the day before I left Boston to come here, when I found at your Office door a notice that you was out of town, and was informed at your house that you and your Lady were gone upon an excursion to Portsmouth. I seriously regretted the Circumstance, as I was desirous of communicating with you more fully and more confidentially, than either my time, or some other considerations will admit of in writing. This however is now the only remaining expedient of intercourse between us, and I take the hour before the dawn of the day of rest, for the purpose.

I arrived here on Saturday the 20th inst^t and saw the President the same evening. He was obliged to leave the City again on Monday Morning for his Seat in Virginia, and the only conversation that I had with him was upon objects concerning which he had instructions to leave with me. Upon his return I will not fail to mention your Letter to him, and ascertain if he received it.

If you will transmit to me your accounts with the United States, with the vouchers if there are any, I will deliver them over to the Auditor for the Department of State, and attend to their being passed through the various offices for settlement.

¹ *Aperçu sur la Situation Politique des États-Unis d'Amérique*, par le Général Turreau, ancien ministre plénipotentiaire de France aux États-Unis d'Amérique (Paris, 1815).

² Don Luis de Onis, minister from Spain. The allusion is probably to his efforts to bring about the prosecution of persons threatening the Spanish possessions. *American State Papers, For. Rel.*, IV. 422.

³ Mr. Adams had now become Secretary of State in the cabinet of President Monroe.

With regard to your return to the diplomatic career, I consider the prospect of your services to the public in that line, as so favourable, that I shall not hesitate to recommend you to the President for employment, if any situation should present itself, in the class of those which would be acceptable to you.

From the Correspondence of Mr Eustis,¹ it appears to be his intention to return next Spring, to the United States; unless in the meantime, a Minister of rank corresponding to his, should be appointed by the King of the Netherlands to reside here. Should he return, a *Chargé d'Affaires* will I presume be appointed to reside at that Court, and as the President in anticipation of such an Event had already offered you the situation, I suppose, and so far as I may expect to be consulted in the selection, intend that it shall be offered to you again. I am not inclined without a clear and obvious propriety to multiply the diplomatic agents of the United States in Europe, and probably the next Congress will be as little disposed as I am to aggravate unnecessarily the public expences in that department. But before I left England I was informed that the King of Prussia had appointed a *Chargé d'Affaires* to the United States, and I was led to expect that he would before now have arrived in this Country. Should such an event take place, the appointment of a person with the same character may be judged advisable, and may perhaps meet the sanction of Congress. In that case, or in any other that may occur of a similar nature, in which I can with propriety present your name to the President, you may be assured I shall be neither backward nor cold in recommending you.

I have read all the numbers upon the present State of England, that have been published since I landed at New-York,² and am sure I shall take great pleasure in reading the remainder. That they have been received by the public with more attention than they deserve is by no means my opinion. That they should have been ascribed to me would have been one of the highest compliments that could have been paid me, if I could have recognized as mine, many of their sentiments. But the argument against the theory of the checks and balances, would scarcely have been decent from my pen, if I had even been convinced of its correctness, which I am not. It would have been inconsistent too with the opinions which I have always avowed; and particularly with a series of papers which in the year 1791, I published in the *Boston Centinel*, under the signature of *Publicola*. They encountered instead of flattering the prevailing prejudices of the time, and were very unpopular. They are now and have been long since forgotten by the Public, but I am not conscious of having changed any important opinion contained in them.

¹ William Eustis, 1753-1825, member of Congress 1801-1805 and 1820-1823; Secretary of War 1807-1813; minister to Holland 1814-1818; governor of Massachusetts 1823-1825.

² "Letters to a Friend on the Present State of England," published in the *Patriot and Chronicle* and reprinted in the *Boston Weekly Messenger* beginning June 17, 1817, and some of them at least in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* beginning June 17.

Their view of the British Constitution is altogether different from yours, and although I do ample Justice to the ingenuity of your argument against Montesquieu, I have not been convinced by it. I cannot compress into this short Letter an argument that would exhaust a volume, and probably leave you on your side "of your own opinion still," but to deal with you in perfect candour, your view of the British Constitution, of its operation, and I might perhaps add of the present State of England, is not impartial. If you and Walsh¹ were Painters and had to take the Portrait of a one-eyed man, you would both paint him in profile but your picture would shew the blind and his the seeing side. He would conceal the loss of the eye, and you would represent the man as blind. You know it is a trite maxim in natural philosophy that a mathematical truth is a physical falsehood. The practice of no machine ever corresponds precisely with its theory. What would you say to an Englishman who should aver that the Constitutions of the United States are all impostures, and that we have nothing but a Government of Caucuses? These are Engines unknown to our Constitutions and Laws, but not less operative upon the Administration of our Governments than what Cobbett calls the borough-mongering faction is upon that of England. As to the general state and condition of the Country, I must say that no Country or People that I have ever visited, present more solid, more numerous or more noble topics for panegyric than England. That she presents at the same time numerous topics for the severest and most indignant reprobation is equally true. Your papers are admirably calculated to eradicate from the minds of our Countrymen, every prejudice in her favour. To do her entire Justice would require another series of Essays, an eye more upon the search for the forms and a hand more ready for the delineation of beauty. The eye and the hand are your own; and why should the disposition be wanting? You have a heart, not insensible to beauty, physical, moral or intellectual — why should you hide its feelings from itself? You know that the Agriculture of England is superior to that of any other Country — That in most of the useful, and some of the ornamental Arts, she is surpassed by none — That her learning, literature and Science equal if they do not exceed those of any other Nation — That in arms she stands at least upon a level with the first military Nations of the age by land, and that she reigns but too triumphant and unrivalled upon the Ocean. Is all this the result of despicable or pernicious institutions? If England had no other claim to reverence than that of having founded the Colonies, which are now your Country and mine, her solid and unquestionable glory would transcend all Greek, transcend all Roman fame. France, Spain, Portugal, and Holland, have founded Colonies as well as England; — look at them,

¹ Robert Walsh, 1784–1859, wrote *A Letter on the Genius and Disposition of the French Government, including a View of the Taxation of the French Empire* (1810, several editions). Its tone was favorable to England. His best known work is *An Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain respecting the United States of America* (Philadelphia, 1819).

and look at the United States. And what is the cause of the difference between them? English Institutions, Principles and Manners. Milton tells us that the very Spirits reprobate lose not all their virtue, and has accordingly endowed his fallen Angels, with virtues of the highest order. He has given the Devil his due, and I think you should do the same with England.

I believe there is a little account between you and me to settle, for the two years that you was in my Office, before our departure for Europe. I mention it now, not for the sake of asking you for the settlement, for that shall be entirely at your convenience, but because never having been adjusted it may perhaps have escaped your recollection.

With my best Respects for your Lady, and the highest esteem and regard for yourself, I remain, dear Sir, ever faithfully yours

J. Q. ADAMS.

XI.

ALEX^r H. EVERETT Esq^r Boston

WASHINGTON 23. Nov^r 1817.

Dear Sir.

I congratulate you very cordially upon your success at the Election. I certainly know not a man in our district more calculated to represent it with dignity to the Nation with honour to himself, and with advantage to his Constituents than Mr Mason.¹ I am also highly gratified with the moderation, the conciliatory Spirit, and the good management, which the republican party at Boston have so remarkably manifested on this occasion, and am not a little amused with the anti-climax of address and temper with which the *Wise Men of the East*, have contrived to put themselves in a minority, at a place where they have for several years had majorities of two to one, for whatever and whomsoever they pleased. It has given me great pleasure to see the influence of your personal exertions in this affair, and I had already recognized your hand in the two pieces in the Patriot, and Chronicle before you sent them to me. The Editors of that paper have not many such Correspondents, and ought to be sensible of it. The decorum and moderation, the recurrence to sound principles and at the same time to popular topics of persuasion, in the neat, and easy Style, so well suited to the temper of the times, and to Newspaper discussion, are not very common in the "five hundred daily Newspapers" that our good-natured Countrymen are content to read. The view of parties has already been transplanted at least into one other Newspaper. A distinction rare indeed for political speculations written merely to bear upon a local election. It is succinct, in the main just, and peculiarly suited to produce the proper impression at the time. A Federalist might perhaps insist that with all the extravagances, and intolerances, and absurdities, and almost Treasons of his party, they have nevertheless rendered the most important and durable services to the Common Country — That if at one period they drove headlong to the

¹ Jonathan Mason, 1750–1831. He had held public office on previous occasions. He served as Federalist Representative from Boston, 1817–1820.

dissolution of the Union, they saved it from the assaults of their opponents at another — That the Constitution of the United States, is peculiarly their's — That the Navy and its glories, are in a peculiar sense their's, and that if in the late Stages of the French Revolution, the horror of its excesses, and the terror of its gigantic despotism drove them into a delirium of subserviency to England, the delirium of their antagonists in favour of that same Revolution in its earlier stages, was equally extravagant, and of a tendency not less pernicious. A faithful and impartial, and philosophical history of our *Parties*, from the formation of our Union would be a most valuable and instructive work, and the time is now come when it might be written without danger to the author. Carey's *Olive Branch*¹ is an imperfect attempt at such a work, and is already at its tenth Edition. But one great defect of that Book, is that Carey, born an Irishman, has always been himself in this Country a violent partizan of the democratic party, and that all his acknowledgments of faults on that side are apologies; while all his enumerations of faults on the other side are charges. The essential Spirit of all confession is palliative; that of all accusation is aggravating. Carey's book would be a proof of this, if it were not in proof from almost every thing else. And as to philosophical speculation, reference to the general principles of human Nature, or comparison with the operations of party in other free Nations, or delineations of individual characters, no such thing is to be found in the book. It is an old joke that a good historian ought to have neither religion nor Country; but it is hardly to be expected that an impartial history of a struggle between two parties should be written by an actor in one of them.

I regret very much not having seen the printed vote of the Central Committee to which you allude; but after the secession of two such members as Gen^l Welles and Major Russell, I can scarcely conceive the blindness of the rest in pushing their Candidate against M^r Mason. This however appears to me clear — That it has *broken their line*, and if the republicans continue their party management in the same Spirit, they cannot fail to have the very next year the Majority in both branches of the Legislature; the selection of the Council; and with regard to the town of Boston, from henceforth the full weight to which they are entitled by their numbers, and by the respectability of character of those whom they recognize as their leaders.

I should think the second of the two plans, suggested by you as likely to be adopted at the next Spring Elections, as in every point of view the best; and particularly since this election of M^r Mason to Congress. First because I trust he will be a very weighty and influential member of the House of Representatives, and should exceedingly regret the loss of his Services there so soon. I have understood that M^r Brooks² serves with some reluctance in the Office of Governor, and would probably not chuse

¹ *The Olive Branch*, by Mathew Carey, a well-known book (1814 and many later editions).

² John Brooks, 1752–1825, governor 1816–1823.

to continue in service long. He could have no better successor than M^r Mason, whose service in the meantime in Congress will I trust be as useful even to the State as it would be in the Governor's Chair. Secondly, I doubt whether the Republicans could split hairs of principle with sufficient accuracy to find a distinction, upon which they could justify themselves in turning out M^r Brooks, to put M^r Mason in his place. If during the late War, M^r Brooks, was in some degree implicated in the misconduct of the Massachusetts State Government, by his official Situation, his Sentiments were undoubtedly the same as those of M^r Mason. His situation may have prevented him from expressing them so freely ; but what censure upon the policy of his predecessor could have been stronger, or more keenly felt, than his Silence, concerning it, and the totally different policy that he announced in his first Speech to the Legislature. Nor can I forget that in that very war, he had a son, who died in the Cause of the Country. Thirdly, I think you would still fail in carrying the Election against Brooks. By adopting him they the Republicans would make another and most effectual step towards conciliation, and harmony ; and could scarcely fail to carry a majority into both branches of the Legislature. I can scarcely imagine how this should be more difficult to accomplish throughout the State ; than it would be for the Republicans to set up another federalist, merely for the sake of displacing Brooks.

Enough upon a subject which as you observe is out of my Sphere. From a Conversation that I have had with the President, I am apprehensive that when Ebeling's Library comes, I shall have it left upon my hands.¹ I should be glad of this if I could afford either the prime cost of it, or a place where it could be safely kept, till I shall have leisure to make suitable use of it myself. But as my means are not adequate to this, I expect to be under the necessity of disposing of the Books or of the greatest part of them, upon the best terms that I can obtain. My determination to purchase them was founded upon the Confidence that I reposed in your brother's judgment, and a feeling of shame that such a Collection, so peculiarly interesting to this Country, in a National point of view, should be lost to it, and scattered over Europe for the want of a few thousand Dollars. But the President is of opinion that 150 Volumes would comprize all the books relating to America, worth having in the Library of Congress, and probably three fourths of them are already there. My deference to his judgment has very much staggered my Confidence in my own, and a little damped the sanguine temper with which I had entered into yours and your brother's feelings. I will yet however not countermand the order which I authorized you to give him for the purchase, but must request you in writing to him, to enjoin upon him, not upon any consideration to exceed the limits which I prescribed in regard to the cost, either by any addition to the sum, or by any deduction from the books. I shall find it hard enough to carry the thing through, as I have undertaken it, but I am still bent upon securing the whole collection to ourselves. Ask your brother also to have the good-

¹ See *post*, pp 114-115.

ness to forward to me as soon as possible, a Catalogue of the Library. I would write to him, but am uncertain where he now is. Can you inform me? I understood it was his intention to pass the next, or rather the present Winter, in England.

I am ever faithfully your's

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

P. S. I give you joy of the opponent that your Letters upon England have found — Such an antagonist is worth ten panegyrics.¹

P. S. 2. Nov^r 25. I have received your Letter of the 20th which was already answered by mine of the 16th. M^r Eustis has got a Secretary, and if there should be any mission to Prussia it will not be sooner than next Summer, and then — how many Candidates!

XII.

ALEX^r H. EVERETT. Esq^r—Boston

WASHINGTON 29. December 1817.

Dear Sir,

Your Letter of the 16th has been a full week upon my unanswered file, and I am now obliged to answer it very imperfectly. The Newspapers mention that M^r Eustis has gone to pass the Winter at Paris, and has left M^r Appleton as Chargé d'Affaires at the Hague. I suppose this is true though we have no notice of it. My last Letter from M^r Eustis, is of 4. October, from the Hague, and its symptoms instead of indicating an intention of speedy departure, rather disclose a willingness to be detained even beyond the period of the ensuing Spring. No necessity for any such detention is supposed here to be likely to arise; but if circumstances should occur to render the homeward voyage inconvenient next Spring, it may perhaps be postponed for another year. I have no particular reason for this surmise, other than that Gentlemen abroad who have projects of returning home do not like to be hurried.

I have not seen the Article upon Peace Societies in the North American Review; nor the Review itself.² But if our Peace Societies should fall into the fashion of corresponding upon the Objects of their Institution with foreign Emperors and Kings, they may at some future day find themselves under the necessity of corresponding with Attorney Generals and Grand and Petit Juries at home. Philip of Macedon

¹ Answers to Everett's articles appeared in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*. They were reprinted in the *Boston Weekly Messenger* beginning November 20, 1817.

² An article by Everett in the *North American Review*, VI. 25, is a review of *The Friend of Peace*, Nos. 1-8, by Philo Pacificus, one of a series of publications issued by a member of the Peace Society of Massachusetts. That Everett's early inclination to the acceptance and promulgation of peace plans and theories continued in later life may be judged from the article. "What can be more thoroughly and essentially *chimerical, absurd, and ridiculous*, than the pretence of settling a disputed boundary, or a doubtful passage in Grotius by arranging fifty or a hundred thousand men in two opposing lines, and compelling them to shoot each other down?" *N. Am. Rev.*, VI. 44.

was in very active correspondence with a Peace Society at Athens; and with their co-operation baffled and overpowered all the Eloquence of Demosthenes. Alexander of the Neva, is not so near nor so dangerous a neighbour to us, as Philip was to the Athenians, but I am afraid his love of Peace is of the same character as was that of the Man of Macedon. Absolute Princes, who can dispose of large masses of human force, must naturally in applying them, be aided by all the pacific dispositions that they can find or make among those whom they visit with the exercise of their power. In the intercourse between *Power* and *Weakness*, Peace, in the language of the former, means the submission of the latter to its will. While Alexander, and his Minister of Religious Worship, Prince Galitzin, are corresponding with the Rev.^d Noah Worcester,¹ upon the blessedness of Peace, the venerable founder of the Holy League is sending five or six ships of the line, and several thousand promoters of peace armed with bayonets to Cadiz, and thence to propagate good will to man elsewhere — whether at Algiers, at Constantinople, or at Buenos Ayres we shall be informed hereafter.

The mention of Buenos-Ayres, brings to my mind an Article that I have lately seen in the Boston Patriot, and which I concluded was from your pen. Its tendency was to shew the inexpediency and injustice there would be in our taking side with the South-Americans in their present struggle against Spain. It was an excellent Article, and I should be glad to see the same train of thought further pursued. As for example by a discussion of the question in political morality by what *right* we could take side? and who, in this case of a civil War, has constituted us the *judges*, which of the parties has the righteous Cause? then by an enquiry, what the Cause of the South-Americans is, and whether it really be as their partizans here alledge, the same as our own Cause, in the war of our Revolution? Whether for instance if Buenos-Ayres, has formally offered to accept the Infant Don Carlos as their absolute Monarch, upon condition of being politically Independent of Spain, their cause is the same as ours was? Whether, if Bolivar, being at the head of the Republic of Venezuela, has solemnly proclaimed the absolute and total emancipation of the slaves, the cause of Venezuela is precisely the same as ours was? Whether in short there is any other feature of identity between their Cause and ours, than that they are as we were Colonies fighting for Independence. In our Revolution there were two distinct Stages, in the first of which we contended for our *civil rights*, and in the second for our *political Independence*. The second as we solemnly declared to the world was imposed upon us as a necessity, after every practicable effort had been made in vain to secure the first. In South-America, Civil Rights, if not entirely out of the question, appear to have been equally disregarded and trampled upon by all parties. Buenos Ayres has no Constitution; and its present ruling powers are established

¹ Noah Worcester, 1758-1837, secretary of the Peace Society 1816-1828, is credited not only with editing but with writing most of the *Friend of Peace*, issued periodically, 1815-1818.

only by the arbitrary banishment of their predecessors. Venezuela though it has emancipated all its slaves, has been constantly alternating between an absolute Military Government, a Capitulation to Spanish Authority, and Guerillas black and white, of which every petty chief has acted for purposes of War and Rapine as an Independent Sovereign. There is finally in South-America neither unity of cause, nor unity of effort as there was in our Revolution. Neither was our Revolution disgraced by that buccaneering and piratical Spirit which has lately appeared among the South-Americans, not of their own growth, but I am sorry to say, chiefly from the contamination of their intercourse with us. Their privateers have been for the most part fitted out and officered in our Ports, and manned from the sweepings of our Streets. It was more effectually to organize and promote this patriotic system, that the expeditions to Galveston and Amelia-Island were carried into effect, and that successive gangs of desperadoes Scotch, French, Creoles, and North-Americans, have been constituting the Republic of the Florida's. Yet such is the propensity of our people to sympathize with the South-Americans, that no feeble exertion is now making to rouse a party in this Country against the Government of the Union, and against the President for having issued orders to put down this Nest of freebooters at our doors.

Your preparations for the next Spring Elections in Massachusetts, appear to be judicious, and I hope they will be successful. I neither see or hear anything more of the Brighter Views, nor of Old North than what you tell me; and there is at present not much to be apprehended from the authors of either of them.

We have the prospect of a troublesome Indian War in the South; and its bearings upon our political affairs may be more extensive and important than is expected.

I am, Dear Sir, very sincerely your's

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

XIII.

A. H. EVERETT Esq^r — Boston

WASHINGTON 6. April 1818.

Dear Sir.

I have received your Letter, enclosing the draft upon Baltimore for 900 dollars, which when received shall be applied conformably to your desire. I have also your favour of 31. ult^o. A Letter from your brother, of 23 January at Paris has informed me, that while he was in treaty for the purchase of the Ebeling library for me, with a prospect of obtaining it, though the price demanded for the whole was something beyond the sum that I had limited, he received another order, to purchase it for Harvard University, without limitation of price. He therefore justly considered mine as superseded; as the only object which I could propose to myself was that the possession of the treasures, to this Country should at all Events be secured; while my limited means would neither admit of my keeping them myself, nor of my making a donation of them

to one of our Public Institutions. I rejoice that another person has undertaken to carry into effect, that which I could only have partially accomplished; and most especially that our dear Alma Mater will receive the precious deposit.¹

A joint Resolution of the two Houses of Congress has passed for adjourning on the 20th of this Month; and they are to meet again on the first Monday of November. The present Session will stand remarkable in the Annals of our Union, for shewing how a Legislature can keep itself employed, when having nothing to do. It has been a Session of breaking ground; more distinguished as a seed-time than as a Harvest. The proposed appropriation for a Minister to Buenos Ayres, has gone the way of other things lost upon Earth — like the purchase of Oil, for Lighthouses in the Western Country.

From the Moment that the Massachusetts Republicans resolved to be in a minority upon the choice of Governor, there could be no hope of an effective Coalition for the choice of Senators. The complexion of the Legislature for the ensuing year, is of more importance to the interests of the Commonwealth, than to those of the Union. Perhaps at the end of the next *political* year, as it is the fashion in this Country to call it, the disposition of parties will be more favourable to harmony and good feelings than it is now.

M^r Eustis by the last accounts we had from him was at Marseilles. His health much improved. He was to return to the Hague in March, and to embark upon his return home in April or May.

Very faithfully yours

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

XIV.

A. H. EVERETT Esq^r. Boston.

WASHINGTON 22. June 1818.

Dear Sir,

When I advised you never to solicit a public office for yourself, I did not mean to preclude you from the exercise of your influence in favour of your friends. It would have given me pleasure if your brother could have received one of the two new Appointments of Appraisers of goods at Boston; and your Letter recommending him was laid before the President. But the appointments were regularly made through the channel of the Treasury Department, and the choices had been fixed upon before your Letter was received.

My advice to you was founded upon the opinion that your talents and services would of themselves operate as a sufficient recommendation of you, for any office which may be a worthy object of your ambition.

¹ "In 1818 Colonel Israel Thorndike, of Boston, bought for \$6,500 the American library of Professor Ebeling, of Germany, estimated to contain over thirty-two hundred volumes, besides an extraordinary collection of ten thousand maps. The library was given by the purchaser to Harvard College, and its possession at once put the library of that institution at the head of all libraries in the United States for the illustration of American history." Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, I. iii.

When you re-enter the diplomatic career, the opportunity of rendering useful service, will be in your hands. Its judicious improvement will be the best of recommendations.

M^r Eustis was expected at the Hague on the 15th of April, and was to embark shortly afterwards for the United States. His arrival may now be daily expected. I have received a Letter from him, giving the explanations which I had requested of the passages in former Letters of his relating to you, of which you have had notice. They are entirely satisfactory, and honourable to you. It is of course very desirable that if you should meet him on his return home, you should not in any manner give him to understand that you have had notice of his remarks concerning you, which have given you uneasiness. They were on his part quite confidential, and as now appears, written without any unfriendly disposition or intention towards you. It was proper on the prospect of your re-appointment to an important public trust that their full import should be unequivocally ascertained, as they have been to the complete justification of your character.

M^r Campbell¹ is to proceed in the course of a few days to Boston, to embark in the frigate *Guerriere*, for Russia. But the President does not think proper to make the appointment of a *Chargé d'Affaires* to the Netherlands until after the arrival of M^r Eustis in this Country, and it is probable that the frigate will go, not through the channel, but North about.

Since beginning this Letter, I have received one from M^r Eustis, dated, at the Hague 21. April. He was making preparations for his departure, and still expected to embark, about the beginning of May.

I remain, very faithfully your's

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

XV.

A. H. EVERETT. Esq^r Boston.

WASHINGTON 4. Aug^t 1818.

Dear Sir.

I shall in the course of a few days send you a Commission and Instructions as *Chargé d'Affaires* to the Netherlands. I give you this notice that you may be making your preparations for departure without delay. Your Salary will commence from the time of your leaving home to proceed on the Mission. For the whole or any part of the outfit you may draw immediately on the Department of State. Go as directly as possible to the place of your destination, and be very cautious not to absent yourself from it without permission, or unless upon motives of Public Service. And for the last time let me intreat you to observe the most rigorous punctuality with regard to your Accounts.

Faithfully yours

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

(To be continued.)

¹ George W. Campbell, of Tennessee, envoy to Russia 1818-1821.

2. *Letters of John Quincy Adams to Alexander Hamilton
Everett, 1811-1837*

(Second Installment.)⁷

XVI.

(Private and Confidential)

A. H. EVERETT Esq^r New-York

WASHINGTON 28. May 1825⁸

My dear Sir.

Accept my thanks for your Letter of the 12th inst^t and for its enclosure. I had not the least uneasiness that the latter should remain

⁷ For the letters of 1811-1818, I.-XV., see the preceding number of the REVIEW, XI. 88-116.

⁸ Among President Adams's first nominations had been that of A. H. Everett as minister to Spain.

in possession of your brother; but it was too full of egotism, for me to be willing that it should fall into unfriendly hands. I am also much gratified with the scraps of newspapers, containing some of your publications the last Autumn.

If the failure of the Union ticket at the late Boston election,¹ is to be regretted, it is not to be wondered at, considering the manner in which it was composed. "Nullum Numen Adest, ni sit Prudentia."

It is customary for Ministers Plenipotentiary, on delivering their Credential Letters into the hands of the Sovereign to whom they are directed, to address him in a short speech; more or less formal, according to the dispositions of the Speaker and Hearer. With this custom you will do well to conform. The Address is complimentary, and adapted to the time and circumstances of its delivery. One or two instances have occurred here during the late Administration of Ministers who read their Addresses from written papers but this is not a general usage, nor as I ever heard the practice at the Spanish Court. The Minister reports to his Government the substance, and sometimes the words of his Address—and also the purport of the Answer, which he receives to it.

I enclose a Letter for Mr Brown, at Paris.² He will shew you a copy of a recent Instruction to Mr Middleton,³ relating to the Affairs of Spain and South-America. I pray you to write me freely and confidentially as often as you shall find it convenient and agreeable. My best wishes will follow you, for the success of your Mission, and for your personal comfort and welfare.

Yours affectionately J. Q. ADAMS.

XVII.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT Esq^r Boston

WASHINGTON 15. April 1830.

Dear Sir.

I received a few weeks since, and have read with great satisfaction your pamphlet upon the British Opinions on the protecting system⁴; which are indeed the opinions of many among ourselves. I had read those wise lucubrations of the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviewers,⁵ which you have so effectually discussed, and had remarked the tone of dogmatism and the visage of Wisdom with which the Sophist of Dun

¹ The election of representatives from Boston to the Massachusetts legislature, May 10, had resulted in the choice of twenty regular Federalists, and in the defeat of a "union ticket" prepared by the Republicans and such Federalists as would join with them.

² James Brown of Louisiana, minister to France 1823 to 1829.

³ Henry Middleton of South Carolina, minister to Russia 1820 to 1830.

⁴ *British Opinions upon the Protective System* (Boston, 1830); reprinted from the *North American Review*, XXX. 160.

⁵ "The American Tariff," *Edinburgh Review*, December, 1828; "Commerce of the United States and West Indies," *Quarterly Review*, January, 1829.

Edin dealt out his ignorance and absurdity. But the exposure of them in your Article surpasses my expectation. Your brother informs me that the author of the Edinburgh Article is a Lecturer upon Political Economy.¹ I take it for granted he will see either the Article in the North American, or your pamphlet, and that we shall hear from him again on the subject. Handled as he has been it is scarcely possible that he should reply without falling into a passion—and then he will make an auditory to witness his discomfiture.

You quote in a note, a paragraph in my last Message to Congress,² with a question of its correctness. My position was not intended as you conjecture, for particular or local application; and was disconnected entirely from any reference to Navigation. I believe the difference between us must be found in the definition of the words *value* and *equivalents*. You are so much deeper in the theories of political economy than I have been, that I distrust my own judgment, and suspect I may have uttered an error, where I should rather have expected to be charged with having propounded a truism.

During the twelve years which succeeded my last return from Europe, my time was so totally absorbed in official Studies and duties that I had none left for devotion to general Literature; nor even to pursue the progress of the Science of Political Economy. After reading your controversy with Malthus,³ I had set him aside, as very doubtful authority; and although I had for several years Ricardo's book upon my shelf, I never found a moment to look into it, nor even into that of our Countryman Mr Raymond. Neither of these Books is now within my reach—nor Say, nor my friend Count De Stutt Tracy; and my utter inability to follow the course of the renowned Periodicals, till within the last four Months has left me so to seek on this momentous subject that I knew nothing even of Malthus's Definitions,⁴ till I perceived in this new Article of your's that there was such a book, and that it had been reviewed by you, in the North-American. I then hunted up the North American for last April,⁵ and there to be sure I find much discussion upon the value of value, and some disagreement between you and Mr Malthus about it. I discover moreover that there is a book in sundry Chapters, called "a Critical Dissertation upon Value"⁶ which, if I should ever get a sight of it, I hope will not perform the office of that antient Judge in the Paradise Lost who "by decision more embroils the fray". My meaning of the word Value was much nearer the surface.

¹ J. R. McCulloch.

² A paragraph affirming it to be "a general law of prosperous commerce, that the real value of exports should by a small, and only a small, balance exceed that of imports, that balance being a permanent addition to the wealth of the nation." See *North American Review*, XXX. 198.

³ A. H. Everett, *New Ideas on Population, with Remarks on the Theories of Malthus and Godwin* (Boston, 1823, 1826).

⁴ *Definitions in Political Economy* (London, 1827).

⁵ "Political Economy," *North American Review*, XXVIII. 368.

⁶ [Samuel Bailey], *A Critical Dissertation on the Nature, Measures and Causes of Value* (London, 1825).

I take this occasion to assure you of the pleasure with which I learnt that you had taken the *North American* into your own hands. I thought it was falling into bad management, especially upon certain topics of our revolutionary history and of present domestic policy. I do not flatter myself that I shall be able to concur in all the doctrines political, metaphysical or poetical, which will mark the future career of this miscellany; but I shall be relieved from the apprehension that it will become the medium for the circulation of time-serving morality or perverted history.¹

Your brother mentioned to me, that you had applied to him for an Article for the July number of the Review, upon the Tape-worm debate in the Senate of the United States, which is voiding all the sense and nonsense, all the wit and dulness, all the Patriotism and Scoundrelism of that body, with its commingled fragrance and fetidity to salute the nostrils of the Nation, and he asked me to undertake this service in his stead. I desired him to excuse me²; first from a doubt whether the whole worm would ever be evacuated. Secondly from a probability that its parcels will be still appearing at least during all the present Session of Congress, but thirdly and chiefly because I believed such an Article as I should write, would not suit your views, nor perhaps the temporal Interests of the Review itself. If I should write the Article it would be too bold for the temper of the Times, and would adapt itself to no one of the political parties militant. It would deal with them all more in truth than, in policy, and would mask neither the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 and 1799, nor the Hartford Convention Resolutions of 1815. Nor the Colleton³ and Edgefield[1]d Resolutions of 1829.⁴ They are all Chips of the same Block, and there is no great political party in this Country but at some time or other has made to itself a God, of this "inutile lignum".

I know not whether your brother or you will even think it advisable fully to expose the mutual surrender of the Public Lands to the West, and of the American System to the South, both at the expense of all the rest of the Union, of which this debate has revealed the project. This is the practical application of the doctrine that any one State has a right to nullify any act of Congress which the State Legislature may please to pronounce Unconstitutional. This is the Key to the creed that Robbery is an attribute of Sovereignty, and that a State may declare itself the owner of all the Lands within its borders. Georgia by virtue of this doctrine, nullifies the Laws of Congress and the Treaties that promise protection to Indian tribes; South-Carolina nullifies the Tariff.

¹ From 1824 to 1830 Jared Sparks had edited the *North American Review*.

² Mr. Adams seems never to have contributed to the *North American Review*.

³ Reference is probably made to "An Address of sundry Citizens of Colleton district to the people of the state of South Carolina," drawn up June 12, 1828 (the Walterborough address). See *Niles' Register*, XXXIV. 288.

⁴ The Edgefield, South Carolina, resolutions of July 26, 1828, are found *ibid.*, XXXV. 60.

Missouri nullifies all the Land Laws—and takes the Lands into her own keeping. They all nullify the Power of the Supreme Court. The Executive of the Union bows in submission; and majorities of both Houses present that beautiful Spectacle of a Government disrobing itself, of its own powers. Meantime Massachusetts is mulcted in a Million of dollars, because her Legislature and judges nullified an Act of Congress sixteen or seventeen years since, and the Hartford Convention, for *recommending* the nullification of certain other Acts of the same body, is turned over to an Independent Court Martial and the second Section. Whether you will take this view of the Senatorial debate or not, it is in my mind by far the most important light in which it is to be considered; for if the sacrifice of the property in the Public Lands, and of the cause and interest of free labour, is not already consummated beyond redemption, nothing can save them but a complete and fearless exposure of the nefarious conspiracy now in the full tide of successful experiment against them.

For the sake of the Union, and of honest Politics, I rejoice that this Subject must occupy, and summon to action all the faculties of your mind, and all the virtues of your heart—if not as a Reviewer, at least as a Legislator—and this is one of my Reasons for congratulating our Country and our native Commonwealth upon your Election to the Senate of the State.¹ I have just received your "*Politics of Europe*"²—but have only space to assure you of the continued regard and attachment of your friend

J. Q. ADAMS.

XVIII.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT Esq^r Boston

WASHINGTON 11. May 1830

Dear Sir

They used to tell a Story of a Bailly in some village of France, who upon the passage of Henri quatre through his jurisdiction felt himself under the awkward necessity of apologizing for the omission of a cannonade in his honour. He commenced a set Speech to His Majesty by assuring him that there were seven reasons why they had not welcomed his arrival by the sound of the Cannon—the first of which was that they had no Cannon to fire. Whereupon Le Roi Henri gravely observed to the village Magistrate that he would dispense with the assignment of the six remaining Reasons, being altogether satisfied with the first.

I have at least as many reasons as the worthy Bailly, for withholding the promise to furnish you regularly with an Article for the successive numbers of your Review; and I hope you will be as indulgent to me, as the Béarnois was to him, when I say that the condition of my health is the first. And as a portion of my health, there must be included a certain waywardness of disposition, humouring caprices in the

¹ Everett served in the Massachusetts legislature from 1830 to 1835.

² *North American Review*, XXX. 399, Everett's third article of that title for that journal.

application of my time—So that instead of refusing like Shakespear's Knight to give Reasons upon compulsion, I am more likely to give them in no other manner. I hope and trust it may be in my power to supply you occasionally with an Article; but whether for so soon as October, may be doubtful. I intreat you therefore to make provision for that number, without depending upon me; and if I should have one prepared so that it might come into that number, it shall be at your service to employ then or for the number next ensuing as may suit your convenience.

The subject upon which my own inclination at present dwells, as that which it would be most agreeable to me to treat would be a biographical account of our late Charge d'Affaires at the Court of Brazil, William Tudor. Biography, does not come strictly within the plan of your Review; but it seems to me that a short account of the life of him who was the founder, first proprietor and Editor of the work itself, far from being out of place, would be peculiarly suited to it. The establishment and continuance to this time of the North-American Review, forms itself an Epocha in the history of our Literature, the occasion of advertising to which would naturally present itself in a Life of Mr Tudor; and some critical, perhaps some political observations would naturally arise from an appropriate notice of the Articles in the Review written by him, as well as of his other published writings.

Mr Tudor's Mother and Sister Mrs Stewart, are my next-door neighbours at this place. In compliance with a request from them, I have written a short notice for the National Intelligencer, but which is a mere newspaper Article. The one which I should propose for the Review, would perhaps be as long as one of your usual Articles. But to prepare it I should want much information which is to be obtained only from the friends and acquaintance of Mr Tudor in Boston. If you approve of my design, I shall need your assistance to procure it.

I am very glad to learn that Charles is entering upon the field with you, and particularly that he begins with Grahame's history.¹ It is incomparably the best account that has ever been published of our early Settlements, and as he is the first historian who has done Justice to our forefathers I hope the North-American Review will be the first to do ample Justice to him.

I thank you for the kind expression of your opinions and dispositions with regard to the new trust in which we both stand associated in the Government of the concerns of our University.² Some improvement in the regulation of its affairs has been generally thought necessary, and expected by the public. Mr Quincy has also been sensible of this necessity, and as I have understood is impressed with the Spirit rather

¹ Grahame's *History of the United States* was reviewed by Charles Francis Adams in the *North American Review*, XXXII. 174.

² President Adams had lately been chosen a member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard University.

of renovation than of innovation. I shall be happy to give him for that purpose all the aid in my power.

I had fully intended and expected to be at my residence in Quincy a month earlier than this; but a very comfortable situation here, and an obstinate Catarrhal complaint succeeded by rhumatic symptoms, have detained me for some weeks, though I still purpose to migrate northward before the close of this Month. I shall rely upon the pleasure of seeing you upon my return, and shall be glad to receive the subsequent numbers of the *North-American Review*, there, rather than here.

Do you intend to suffer the Article in the last number, upon the Jefferson Correspondence,¹ to pass for the New-England critical and political judgment concerning that work?

Yours faithfully

J. Q. ADAMS.

XIX.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT Esq^r Boston.

WASHINGTON 24 May 1830.²

Dear Sir.

I reply to your Letter of the 17th though at the eve of my return to Quincy, where I hope to arrive at a time when you will be much occupied with public business. But as the Session of the Legislature will be short I expect to see you not long after my arrival,—and we may then freely converse upon topics too comprehensive to be discussed in Letters of *conscionable* dimensions.

I had no intention to write an Article upon the Jefferson Correspondence for the Review, but I was certainly not satisfied with the Article upon it in the last number. Mr Jefferson had a *mind*. I did hope to see in the *North-American Review* at least traces of a *Mind* capable of grappling with it. In the published Article, there is abundance of liberality. But the errors of Mr Jefferson in Religion and Politics are not of that harmless Class which may be encountered with equivocal opposition or hesitating dissent. There is a mode of defending which has the effect of surrendering a Cause. The Reviewer professes to disapprove some of Mr Jefferson's Religious opinions, but does not tell us what they are—but he approves his practice and recommendation of free enquiry, or free thinking—admires his total disregard of all human authority, and his studious avoidance of quoting the opinion of any other as the motive or foundation of his own; and is half-inclined to regard this lofty consciousness of superiority over other minds as a new discovery in religious morals.

¹ Article in the *North American Review*, XXX. 511, for April, 1830, by A. Ritchie, on the Randolph edition of the *Memoirs and Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson*.

² Most of this letter, and one passage in the next, was printed, without mention of the person addressed, in *Old and New* for February, 1873, VII. 135-136. Nevertheless, for the sake of continuity, it is here reprinted.

The writer of the Article, favours his readers with much commonplace argument, upon the reasonableness of free and unlimited enquiry, and commends Mr Jefferson, for advising his young friend to examine the first-principles of *natural* religion for himself, and not to adopt without examination the principles of *another*.

It is not difficult to discern where all this leads. The Reviewer does not or will not discern it. But observe—*Examination* is one thing—*Rejection* of all human authority is another. Mr Jefferson examined much less than he rejected. He never examined the evidences of Christianity. He rejected it as an imposture. Rejected it, not by the dictate of his own mind, but upon mere perusal of the bible, under the influence of the infidel School of his own and the immediately preceding age—Bolingbroke, Hume, Voltaire, Diderot, and the rest of that gang. What he meant by examination, was treating the Bible like Tooke's Pantheon—studying all the fashionable atheists of the age; and never looking into the writers in favour of Christianity. So far was Mr Jefferson from encouraging or recommending examination into the truth of the Christian Religion, that he founded his University, with a cold, professed, and systematic exclusion of all theological studies from the institution.

He who recommends to a young man, a total rejection of human authority in the pursuit of his enquiries after religious truth, ought if not in Modesty, at least in consistency to include his own authority with the rest. And perhaps it would be quite as good advice to the natural impetuosity of youth to guard the juvenile enquirer against the possible illusions of his own mind, as against the opinions of *all* the rest of mankind. The rejection of all human authority, in the formation of our religious opinions, is as unphilosophical, as the blindest confidence in an infallible Church. Examination is good; but it must be thorough. An University without theological Studies, however favourable to free thinking is but a sorry commentary upon free Inquiry.

Mr Jefferson was not willing that all his opinions upon Religion should be known to the world in his Life-time. He sometimes intrenched himself in his Castle, and insisted upon his right to keep his opinions to himself. When Dr Priestley was a *political* Apostle for him, he was prepared to pass for a Unitarian, and preferred the moral precepts of Jesus to those of Moses, or of Socrates or of any other antient philosopher. But he was always as hostile to the whole system of Christianity as the temper of popular opinion in this Country would endure. He occasionally *betrayed* his belief in the independent existence of matter, and he had no faith in a future state of retribution, though he never very explicitly avowed this part of his doctrines.

His opinions upon the judiciary, and his rancour against all judges, deserve searching scrutiny and fearless exposure, nearly as much as his religious infidelity. And the nullification doctrine, which may shiver this Union to atoms is the child of his own conception. It was like most of his political opinions a doctrine adopted and propagated to promote

his own views and prospects of ambition, at a particular time; and did effectually promote them. As to his Construction of the Constitution and his tender regard for State Rights, his annexation of Louisiana to the Union, by Acts of Congress, with his signature, and his Cumberland Road, are quite as authoritative of what he could *do*, as the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of what he could *say*.

Mr Jefferson's *infidelity*, his *anti-judicialism*, and his *nullification*, were three great and portentous Errors. I did hope that the Cause of the Cross, the Cause of *Justice*, and the Cause of the American Union, would have found in the North-American Review, a head and heart capable of defending them against the insidious and therefore more formidable assault of his posthumous Correspondence. As to the Lamb-like meekness with which the remnants of the Hartford Convention stomach his new, and gross denunciations of them, let it pass, if so my friend shall think just and fair, for *liberality*.

That these great Errors should be probed to the bottom, and exposed in their naked nature I do believe to be highly necessary. We have had recent experience here, of the use which some of the most desperate profligates upon Earth are making of his name and authority, to kindle a conflagration in the confusion of which they may consummate their schemes of public robbery, and enthrall the free blood of this Union in bondage to its Slavery. Now is not a time for New-England to close her eyes, upon what is passing in this Confederation before them, nor to wink at the jugglery practising upon her simplicity, under the name, the countenance and the authority of Jefferson.

For the Mulatto doctrine of political economy, which proves that two thirds of the federal revenue consists of a tax upon the *export* of Cotton, I commend you to the speech of Mr M'Duffie now in a course of publication in the National Intelligencer. You will see that this rare political economist falls foul of you among others. He is also one of the champions of nullification, and tells some of our good natured members that if Congress will not repeal the Tariff, the Legislature of South-Carolina will. I am told that Mr Gorham and Mr Davis¹ answered both his argument and his swaggering, but their speeches have not yet been published. I have heard much also of a Speech of your brother's—but that was perhaps on the Indian question, which is prejudged. I have not seen him, I think for more than a Month. He is so much and so well engaged that I would not intrude upon him.

Your faithful friend

J. Q. ADAMS.

XX.

ALEXANDER G. FORDYCE, Esq^r Boston—

QUINCY 18, Sept^r 1831.

My dear Sir,

In compliance with my promise and your request I send you the Manuscript which I had prepared in reply to Mr H. G. Otis and his

¹ Benjamin Gorham and John Davis, of Massachusetts.

twelve confederates, or rather to himself alone, he being on that occasion my only real adversary.¹ It was written under circumstances so deeply afflictive and feelings so far beyond the reach of his pigmy Soul to excite, that it would not be fit for public inspection without severe revisal. It was never intended for publication without such revisal, and I now commit in friendly confidence its perusal to you, only with the condition that you will return it, with all the passages marked, of which you would advise the omission, and with such other observations as your friendship and judgment may suggest.

I am well pleased that your proposed Article upon Nullification in the North American Review, should be postponed, to embrace the examination of Mr Calhoun's new Theory, in connection with my Oration.² This has already been severely criticised from various quarters, and among the rest from Head-quarters. I am told that a critic in the Salem Gazette, charges me with having borrowed my expositions of the *united* Declaration of Independence from Mr Dane. I did not borrow them from Mr Dane, but from the Paper itself, and from personal knowledge of the Time. Mr Dane had the same opinion drawn from the same Sources: he no more borrowed it from me than I borrowed it from him, as is well known to Judge Story. But if you will read with attention what Mr Dane says upon the subject, in his Supplement,³ you will see an intelligible concession that this doctrine was somewhat overlooked at the Hartford Convention.

Mr Dane has so nobly redeemed that error, both by this concession, and by his magnificent benefaction to our University, that base would be the heart which could reproach him with it now; and among my motives for suppressing hitherto my enclosed manuscript, not the least has been, a reluctance, at baring thus to the bone, in the face of the world, the character and proceedings of an Assembly of which we know that he was an unwilling member.

I have sent to Mr Calhoun a copy of my Eulogy upon Mr Monroe, and with it one of my Oration, which I had not at first done, lest he should think it was meant as a cast of the glove. With the two pamphlets, I have written him a few lines disclaiming all other than friendly intentions in offering them, but with the hope that his answer may give opening to a further exposition by himself of his present Sentiments with regard to the Union.

¹ The pamphlet alluded to is the famous *Correspondence between John Quincy Adams, Esquire, President of the United States, and several Citizens of Massachusetts, concerning the Charge of a Design to dissolve the Union* (Boston, 1829) put forth by Otis and others. The manuscript alluded to, Adams's "Reply to the Appeal of the Massachusetts Federalists," first saw the light of print in 1877, when published by Mr. Henry Adams in his *Documents relating to New England Federalism*.

² Adams's oration at Quincy, July 4, 1831, in which he inveighed against the nullifiers.

³ Appendix to Vol. IX. of Dane's *Abridgment*.

Mr Madison's Letter to your brother¹ upon the Virginia Resolutions of 1798, and 1799, also contains a concession which I deem of no trivial importance. "It may often happen, says he, as experience proves, that erroneous constructions, not anticipated, may not be sufficiently guarded against in the language used." I consider him also as substantially admitting that the great object of those Resolutions was *electioneering* for Mr Jefferson. That this was their great object I have always believed, and as he remarks it was effectually answered. Neither your brother,² nor Mr Webster has ventured in treating of those Resolutions *now*, to analyse them with a critical scrutiny of their language and import as affected by this purpose for which they were prepared; to which they were adapted, and by which they were stimulated. I know not whether it will be within *your* plan to subject them to the discipline of *that* investigation, but I will not disguise the opinion, that no unanswerable refutation of the nullification principle can be exhibited without it. I presume it might be conducted with all the respect, and even delicacy so justly due to Mr Madison.

Mr Jefferson too is entitled to great Respect—though after the conduct of his last days and the posthumous publication of his writings, delicacy towards him from New-England, is an exemplification of something more than Christian meekness and forbearance. The Review of that work in the North-American, I have heard was written at the solicitation of his grand-daughter's husband, and that is the best way that I know of accounting for its character. "Time, (says Voltaire)" which vindicates the characters of great men, finishes by "rendering even their faults respectable.[""] Of such respectability Mr Jefferson has a very unreasonable share, and if the prudent servility of New-England Literature suffers it to accumulate without energetic remonstrance *she* will feel its consequences, in every vein and artery and sinew and bone of her population. Your brother has noticed his courteous reason for preserving the Union—to keep New-England, as a plaything to buffet, and quarrel with; and the complimentary anecdotes about leading New-England federalists in the *Ana*—but I have seen those same federalists, not ashamed of linking themselves to the crazy Chariot wheels of My Lord Mayor, that he might ride over my neck, at the moment when he thought me prostrate forever; and silent—silent—chap-fallen as the skull of Yorick the King's jester, under charges in these writings of Jefferson, that their darling champions were bribed by British gold.

You will find in the enclosed manuscript that I have handled him not quite so gently as your brother Edward. He deserves nothing but rigorous Justice from *me*—and that he shall always have. He was a great Man—but his characteristic vice was duplicity—a vice which originated in his overweening passion for popularity, and his consequent

¹ Letter of August, 1830, to Edward Everett. See it in *Letters and other Writings of James Madison*, IV. 95-105.

² Edward Everett's article on the "Debate in the Senate", *North American Review*, XXXI. 462.

desire to be all things to all men. As to his Constitutional puritanism—to say nothing of the Cumberland Road, the man who with the Oath of God upon his Soul, after writing his Letter to Dr Sibley upon the Louisiana purchase, could sign the Bills extending the Laws of the United States over that Territory comes with an ill-grace to claim a narrow Construction of the Powers of Congress.

I need not add the assurance or the injunction of perfect Confidence in which this Letter is written, by your friend

J. Q. ADAMS.

XXI.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT Esq.^r Boston

QUINCY 18. August 1832

Dear Sir,

It may not be in my power to meet you according to your kind invitation at 4 in the afternoon of Monday, but I shall probably visit Boston in the course of the week, and will then not fail to call at your house, where I shall be happy to converse with you on the subject to which your Letter refers. I regretted much last year that the Anti-Masons of this Commonwealth, thought it necessary to nominate and support for Governor a Candidate other than the incumbent,¹ and expressly declined their nomination, declaring my approbation of the general course of his Administration. Could I now contribute to his re-election for the ensuing year, I would most cheerfully yield every suitable aid in my power.

With regard to the Electoral ticket for the Presidential Election, I incline to the opinion that having reference to both my Situations past and present I ought not to meddle with it at all. I have been earnestly solicited to deliver a public address to the Anti-Masons, to attend as a delegate at their projected Convention at Worcester, or to countenance them merely by my presence; all which I have declined. At the Election of 1824, it was a received Moral and Political Maxim of the National Republicans, that Caucusing by members of Congress, for the Election of a President was improper; and virtually forbidden by the Constitution, which disqualifies them from serving in the Electoral Colleges. I was of that opinion myself and avowed it. I have seen no occasion to change the opinion, and see none now.

With respect to conciliating the Anti-Masons in this Commonwealth, though it is rather late for the National Republicans to begin, it may be better late than never. I most sincerely and heartily wish that they would. The National Republicans of this Commonwealth have not understood—they do not and I fear *will not* understand the State of the

¹ Levi Lincoln. The history of antimasonry in Massachusetts, and of Adams's relation to it, may be followed in Dr. Charles McCarthy's monograph, "The Antimasonic Party," in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1902*, I. 516-525.

Masonic and Anti-Masonic Question. About a year ago the Grand Lodge of Rhode-Island, published a formal *defence of Masonry*, in which they said they could not tell whether Morgan had been murdered or not for *they knew nothing about it*. I have read a declaration published on the last day of the last year, signed by twelve hundred Masons of this our own State who speak of a high state of excitement which *had been* in the public mind, carried to it "by the *partial and inflammatory* representations of *certain offences* committed by a *few misguided members* of the Masonic Institution in a Sister State". The National Republicans of Massachusetts know nothing about these *certain Offences*, but they have for two years past taken most especial care to turn out of office every Anti-Mason upon whom they could lay their hands, all the while, bitterly complaining of the persecuting and proscriptive Spirit of political Anti-Masonry.

The cause of Anti-Masonry must and will survive the next Presidential-Election. And if the National Republicans of Massachusetts really wish for the co-operation of Anti-Masons, I have no doubt they can obtain it. Whether they can agree upon a ticket for the Presidential Election now so near at hand is doubtful in my mind, but I take it for granted that for this time the National Republicans can carry their Elections without them. The Masonic Declaration of last Winter, to which I have alluded considers the Anti-Masonic excitement as having subsided, and they certainly did appear then to have lost ground in this State, and at least to have gained none in the States of New-York and Pennsylvania. There is now an apparent Union of the two parties in New-York, but whether it will be cordial or successful is very problematical. The National Republicans there, are more sanguine than the Anti-Masons, and there are wounds between them not easily to be healed. You know how it is here.

Upon the Subject of Anti-Masonry, I have not suffered myself to be excited, although there has been no lack of provocations. But I do know something about the *Masonic Murder of Morgan*, and the *Cluster of Crimes* perpetrated for the suppression of his Book. I know something also of the Laws, Oaths, Obligations and Penalties of Masonry, and I have not been unobservant of their practical effect, from murder under the sealed obligations down to the prevarication of pretending that to have the throat cut from ear to ear *means* expulsion from the Lodge. If the Masonic controversy were now raging in Cochin-China, and the name of Hiram Abiff had never been heard upon this Continent, the Subject would be worthy of investigation as a philosophical enquiry into the mysteries of human nature. I have endeavoured to consider it as a question upon the first principles of morals. I have sought for the facts from the Masonic as well as from the Anti-Masonic side, and have read Henry Brown as well as Avery Allyn and David Bernard.¹ Col

¹ Henry Brown, *Narrative of the Anti-Masonic Excitement in the Western Part of the State of New York*, New York, 1829; David Bernard, *Light on Masonry* (Utica, 1829).

Stone's Letters,¹ which you have doubtless seen, were addressed to me, in consequence of enquiries which I had addressed to a brother Mason of his in Philadelphia, which were communicated to him. Stone is a Knight Templar, and as you know a very ardent National Republican. His Masonic Spirit lingers with him through his whole book, but he is an honest man, unperverted, even by the fifth libation; and a bold one, or he never would have dared to proclaim the Truths contained in those Letters. I ask your particular attention to the Letters from 21. to 25 inclusive, and to the 48th and I wish you would recommend the perusal of them, to those of your National Republican friends who are accessible to reason upon this Subject. I abstain purposely from any public manifestation of opinion upon this topic, to avoid all appearance of interfering with the approaching Presidential Election.

Faithfully your friend

J. Q. ADAMS.

XXII.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT Esq^r Boston

QUINCY 23. July 1833

My dear Sir

I have delayed answering your friendly Letter of the 12th inst^d under an expectation of the pleasure of meeting you in Boston, or here, and of conversing with you freely on the subject to which it relates.

But as this may be farther delayed, I write to relieve you from all suspense with regard to the arrangements which you may deem it expedient to make.

Reflection tends from day to day to confirm my impressions against consenting to be a candidate for the Office of Governor of the Commonwealth. My principal objections arise from a conviction that the questions between Masonry and Anti-Masonry will constitute the main objects of political controversy within the Commonwealth during the ensuing year; and that in the operation which they must have upon the Affairs of the State, I could not possibly hold the balance between the parties so as to give satisfaction to the People of the State, or indeed to either of the parties, in collision with each other. A sharply contested Election, succeeded by a turbulent administration, and a furious renewal of the contest at the end of the year, is all that I could expect for myself or anticipate for the public. "*Le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle*".

I am as you know, of long standing an outlaw to the federal party and especially to its leaders in this State. I am worse than an Outlaw in the estimation of the Masons and Masonic Party; and they constitute between them three fourths of the People. Concurring with the general Opinions of the National Republicans with regard to the interests involved in the Administration of the general Government I may hope to represent them with Satisfaction to them and to myself in Congress;

¹ William L. Stone, *Letters on Masonry and Antimasonry, addressed to Hon. John Quincy Adams* (New York, 1832).

it is morally certain that I could not represent them to their Satisfaction as Governor of the State, and I perceive no attainable end, of inducement to try an experiment with anticipation approaching to certainty of its ultimate failure. Here, in my Solitude, disburthened of all responsibility for public measures I enjoy a tranquility for which no political elevation encumbered with its cares and vexations can compensate; and whatever of selfishness there may be in this Consideration, I see no stake of public welfare, to be contended for, which should forbid me to indulge it. Feeble and inefficient as my Services may be in the Legislative Councils of the Union, I am convinced they would be more so, in the Executive of the Commonwealth.

I am, Dear Sir, ever faithfully your friend

J. Q. ADAMS.

XXIII.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT Esq Boston

My dear Sir.

QUINCY 24. September 1833

In accepting the nomination recently tendered to me by the Convention held at Boston,¹ I deemed it proper to state for the Consideration of the People of the Commonwealth the Principles upon which I acceded to that measure—the only Principles upon which I would accept of any nomination or of the Office to which the nomination applied. The first of these Principles was that of merging all party Spirit and feeling, in the general interest of the whole Commonwealth. The next was contributing as far as might be in my Power, to heal the divisions of party, to promote the harmony of the Union, and to maintain the Industry of Freedom and the purity of the Constitution.

You have perfectly understood the meaning of this pledge; and you are well acquainted with my principles in reference to this subject from other and anterior sources. Intelligent men cannot and candid men will not misunderstand them. To others no explanation or developement of them would be satisfactory. On full deliberation, appretiating the motive of your communication, and estimating the high value of your friendship, I can only repeat what I then said; adding merely the assurance that I am accustomed to understand and construe my promises according to the unequivocal import of the words in which they are conveyed, and that you are at liberty to make such use of this Letter as you may think proper.

I am, Dear Sir, ever faithfully your friend

J. Q. ADAMS.

XXIV.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT Esq^r Boston.

Dear Sir.

WASHINGTON 1. December 1835

I have received your Letter of the 25th ultⁿ mentioning that you had given a Letter of introduction to me to Mr Fisk late Editor of the

¹ Antimasonic. McCarthy, *op. cit.*, p. 520.

Reformer Newspaper. He has not yet delivered the Letter, and I have not heard of his arrival here. I think I have recently heard something of the Paper, but do not recollect ever having seen it. What were the *Reforms*, which it patronized or recommended?

There have been of late years a goodly number of Editors and correspondents of the daily Journals in most of the Northern cities who have passed their winters at Washington, and who from time to time have entertained the public with intelligence from the Metropolis of the Union. I find it announced that the Editor of the Bangor Whig and Courier, and one of the Editors of the Boston Atlas are to be of the corresponding corps during the approaching Session of Congress. Judging of the future from the past it may be expected that their communications will be sufficiently indicative of the purposes for which they are employed, and of the services they are to perform. Whether Mr Fisk proposes to pass the winter here, or is to be a correspondent of any Journalist, I may probably learn from himself.

It gives me pleasure to learn that you also propose to pay a visit here in the course of the Winter. It will be an interesting object to you to know what the different parties which will be assembled here have in prospect before them; and what the result of all their collisions and combinations will be likely to turn out. As yet we see little more than the crumbling of the political parties as they have existed under this administration, into ruin. There must be during the approaching Session of Congress a new composition of parties, and it is scarcely possible yet to foresee what that will be.

Mr Van Buren is the candidate of the Democracy—so self styled; and although that party have not always been true to their name, and have often mistaken their friends for their foes, and vice versa, they have when acting in concert always ruled the Country; and always bestowed the great Offices of Government Legislative and Executive. But Democracy, in our history, has hitherto been the great Engine of the South to controul and manage the affairs of the whole Union. Heretofore they have succeeded in all but two instances in securing the Presidency to one of their own number, and the Office of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States has also for the last thirty-five years been held by one of them. *He* was however not of the democracy. He was a federalist, and by his great talents, and his personal influence and popularity has during the whole of that time held the democracy in check. There is every reason to fear that this state of things is now to be reversed. That the next Chief Justice will be not only a Southern Slave holder, but a convert from rank federalism to rank democracy and a man of exceedingly doubtful moral principle.¹ On the other hand, if the democracy of the South go for Van Buren, he will certainly be elected. There are indications favourable to him both in the South and the West, the sources of which I look to with some distrust. A North-

¹ The allusion is to Taney.

ern man, elected by Southern and Western Democracy presents no very auspicious futurity for the local interests and even the rights of the North. Mr Van Buren is pledged to support the principles of the Jackson Administration—Pledged to uncompromising hostility to the Bank of the United States—pledged to unqualified Anti-Slavery abolition—Pledged I greatly fear to sacrifice the Public Lands to the grasping temper of the new Western States. I have no personal relations with him beyond the exchange of a visit or a card, and seek none. You have not the same motives for keeping aloof from him; and when you come here, you will have opportunities of meeting and conversing with him, and of satisfying yourself whether upon the cardinal points of policy to which I have alluded, better hopes can be entertained than I have been able to conceive or to encourage.

The opposition to Van Buren consists 1. Of part of the Southern democracy; deserters from Jacksonism, in two divisions. One of Calhoun nullifiers, chiefly confined to South-Carolina, but entirely controuling that State. The other of *White* Tennesseans, drawn off from the same party, by the late Speaker John Bell. They will probably unite all the *servile* votes of the South. I mean all the votes which will be biassed exclusively by Slave-holding passion, prejudice and panic—and they will not be few. These two divisions will perhaps melt up into one. 2. Of Western *Clay* Democrats—or rather of all the Clay Democrats. This party got up the late Baltimore triumphal banquet, and the Meeting at Philadelphia, headed by Col! Watmough and Josiah Randall. This party appears to be now very weak; and likely to be overawed into submission to another. 3. The Webster federalists. All the remnants of blue-light federalism have rallied together and made Webster their forlorn hope. Clay as you know rose upon the broadest shoulders of democracy. But his European Expedition tinged both his principles and his deportment with Aristocracy—perhaps to the improvement of his character, but to the loss of his standing with the Democracy. It is now again said that he will yield his pretensions as a Candidate for the Presidency; and that his party will support Webster. As it is very certain that neither of them can be elected, it may be Mr Clay's policy to acquiesce in giving Mr Webster the chief command, with the certainty of defeat. Nothing else can possibly effect the amalgamation of Clay democracy with Webster federalism. 4. The Pennsylvania and perhaps the Vermont Anti-masons. In both States however the Anti-masons are exceedingly divided, and I think there is no prospect of their uniting upon any Candidate for the Presidency. The result may be to break up the anti-masonic party in both those States. 5. The Wolf portion of the Pennsylvania democracy. I believe it was the opposition to Van Buren, which principally, if not wholly caused the schism between the Wolf and Muhlenberg democrats. Whether they can be reunited or not can scarcely be foreseen till the meeting of Congress, and of the Legislature of Pennsylvania. It is needless to say that of these five parties all opposed to Van Buren, there are no two that hold any

great political principle in common. Most of them call themselves whigs, only for the sake of calling their adversaries Tories.

The Antimasons of Massachusetts after presenting to the whigs a Candidate for the Office of Governor,¹ and uniting with them to elect him, have wisely withdrawn from all further association with them, especially with regard to the Presidency. The Government of the State is yet in the hands of the Whigs, but how they will manage it is subject to ominous conjecture. The mere Jackson party has not only been a very small, but internally a much divided party, with this peculiar property that the interest and the policy of its leaders has been to keep the party as small as possible; to engross all the lucrative offices to themselves. How far Mr Van Buren will be disposed to countenance and sustain this policy, I am unable to say. You will have no difficulty however in ascertaining, if you come here in the course of the winter.

The whigs of Boston have done themselves no service by relieving you from your labours as a member of the Legislature. They will call for them again when they get rid of some of their *Notions*. I have read with much interest your Speech in Fanenil-Hall, and have been amused with the castigation, of the Daily Advertiser, and Centinel for having dared to publish it. In what condition must a party be driven to such expedients to gag the freedom of their own Press? What must be the moral principle of a party, so convulsed at the admission of every ray of light? I perceive they are shockingly scandalized too at your consenting to deliver an Address at Salem, on the 8th of January.² Their treachery to you sits heavy on their Souls; and as usual they are labouring to transform it into your treachery to them.

I trust you will hold the even tenour of your way, heedless alike of their censure or their applause. Whoever adheres to *principle*, must make up his mind to be charged with inconsistency and apostasy for every refusal to be hand-cuffed with the manacles of party, and when allegiance to men, is made the only standard of political orthodoxy, the praise or blame of the hirelings of the press, stimulated from behind the Scenes and paid for by the paragraph are equally worthless and contemptible.

I am, Dear Sir, very respectfully yours J. Q. ADAMS.

XXV.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT Esq^r Boston

WASHINGTON 10 May 1836

My dear Sir

Your Letter of the 29th ult^o from Norfolk House Roxbury has been some days received. Your new arrangements with regard to your future residence, seem to me in every point of view judicious, and I heartily wish you may find them result as successfully to yourself as you can

¹ Edward Everett.

² Alexander H. Everett, *An Address delivered at Salem, on the Eighth of January. 1836, in Commemoration of the Victory of New Orleans* (Boston, 1836).

desire. The treatment which you have received from the political party with which since your last return from Europe you have been associated has given me more and deeper concern than that which I have experienced from them myself. As a man so much younger, and with a long career of capacity for public usefulness before you, I have felt your removal from the service of our Country as a misfortune to her, while my own, at this time can scarcely be an anticipation of the natural and necessary course of Events. Whether your residence in the County of Norfolk, will by the Constitution of the Commonwealth be of sufficient duration to make you eligible from that District to Congress at the ensuing election next November, I cannot say, but as I understand Mr Jackson¹ intends to decline being a candidate for re-election, nothing could give me more cordial pleasure than that you should be his successor. What the state of parties in the District will be cannot even now be very clearly foreseen. The Presidential Election would seem to be ascertained, by the result of the recent elections in Connecticut, Rhode-Island and Virginia, though some doubts are said to have arisen from adverse indications in those of New-York, and though new questions of very grave and threatening aspect, are starting up, as if by evil enchantment, which may yet have unexpected bearings upon the issue of the Election. A knot of Florida Indians, probably not five hundred, perhaps not three hundred in number have absorbed all the energies of our whole standing army, with large bodies of auxiliary militia, and cannot be found. Six Generals and at least ten thousand men have been four months in search of them, and they are as *introuvables* as the famous chamber of deputies of Louis 18. They have in the meantime but too fatally found some of our citizens habitations, and some of our ill-fated detachments of troops, whom they have scalped and tomahawked according to the custom of their tender mercies. Two Millions of dollars of appropriation extraordinary have already been swallowed up, by this miniature cormora[nt]² and nothing has been done;—there is not even a prospect that this invisible wa[r]² will terminate the present year, and the climate is already committing ravages among our troops, more terrible than the savages themselves.

In the meantime another and far more portentous War, has blazed up, with the suddenness of a faggot fire kindled in a forest. It is close upon our Southern border, and we are in the most imminent danger of being involved in its conflagration. Two Millions of dollars have already been voted by the House of Representatives in preparation to meet its blast; a second Regiment of dragoons has been added to the standing Army of the Union, and the President of the United States has been authorised for three years to accept the services and to saddle the Country with the burden of supporting ten thousand Volunteers of the Militia of the Western States. So suddenly have these measures flashed upon us that neither of the two Bills has passed the Senate, though both have

¹ William Jackson of Newton.

² Paper torn.

passed the house with extreme precipitation. The last Million appropriation Bill in one day—last Saturday. The nature and causes of this War, were then also for the first time partially disclosed by communications from the Executive, and it threatens to be nothing less than a foreign, a civil, a servile and an Indian war combined in one. And that of this War, we have been or are to be the aggressors. It is on our part a War with Mexico, for the re-establishment of Slavery in the province of Texas, and for the conquest and annexation of Texas, and of other portions of Mexico to our Union, and the re-subjugation of emancipated Slaves, and the conquest of the Mexican Provinces, and their annexation as slave-holding States of our Union, and the extermination of the Indians whom we have been driving like swine into a pen West of the Mississippi, are all parts of one System of War policy, bursting upon us at this moment. In this state of things I must not look back, for clashing opinions with Mr Webster or any other Northern man. My conflict now is with the nullifier and Slave-holder, and with their conjoint system of policy, and this conflict has already commenced. I have taken my stand; and in the debate of last Saturday, wretchedly reported both in the Globe and Intelligencer, you will yet see what passed between Mr Thompson of South-Carolina, aided by Mr Balie Peyton of Tennessee, and me. Thompson is the Prince of nullifiers in the House. Balie Peyton is the Ajax of the White standard. Harrison has already lost a Son in this Mexican War, and *some* at least of his friends in the House are infected with its frenzy. Mr Webster has not yet spoken but his friends in the House upon this point are all with me. That is they vote with me, though they have not forgiven me for demolishing their *Chateaux en Espagne* for the next President.

My resolution of 22^d January¹ therefore still sleeps on the Speaker's table as it did when you left this place. The Appropriation Bills and other measures of the first urgency, have occupied the House incessantly since January, and in the meantime other objects of deliberation have arisen upon which my views have not been conformable to those of the ruling majority in the House. I incline therefore both from principle and policy to use forbearance towards Mr Webster, and to suffer the vituperations of his friends in the House to pass without reply. The shallow and inconsistent pretences upon which the three Million Appropriation was rejected in the Senate have been totally abandoned; the opposition majority have melted into a minority, and the Webster whigs of our own delegation, have so thoroughly parted from their nullifying, White and Harrison associates, that all the important purposes of my Resolution have been attained, and I could secure nothing by pressing

¹ "Resolved, That so much of the message of the President of the United States to Congress at the commencement of the present session, as relates to the failure, at the last session of Congress, of the bill containing the ordinary appropriations for fortifications, be referred to a select committee, with instructions to inquire into, and report to the House, the causes and circumstances of the failure of that bill."

the subject further but a personal triumph, which the ruling majority themselves may not be more willing to aid me in gaining than their adversaries. If any thing *now* remains necessary for my defence, I shall rather prefer to address it to my Constituents through the Press.

For your anniversary Address at Bunker's Hill I have no suggestion to offer you, which could even claim admission among those which will present themselves to your own mind. You will not fall into commonplace bragging with which the theme is redundant, and you know too well how to temper panegyric with philosophy, to require a leading idea of restraint upon the propensity merely to admire and to condemn.

I have expected our Session would close about the last of this Month, but if the cloud on our Southwestern frontier should not clear away, we shall hardly separate before the 1st of July. We have important appropriation Bills yet on hand.

I remain, very faithfully yours

J. Q. ADAMS.

XXVI.

A. H. EVERETT Esq^r Norfolk House Roxbury, Mass^{ts}

WASHINGTON 7. Nov^r 1837

Dear Sir

I received a few days since your Letter of 20. Oct^r enclosing a number of the Norfolk Argus, and I had a few days before received your address to the Literary Society at Providence,¹ which I read with great pleasure.

Your view of the contrasted character of the Literature of the 18th and 19th centuries is highly interesting, and I *hope* on the whole correct. I am under some apprehension that it sees the philosophy of the age in fairer colours than the reality will warrant. I have taken as yet no cognizance of Monsieur Cousin's system and I have been impressed with a painful idea, that the sense of religion is almost entirely extinguished in France. I observe that you have not noticed Benjamin Constant's work upon Religion—nor Lord Bolingbroke, among the infidel writers of the last age.

Speculative atheism is the most unfortunate of all religions, for it can make its appeal to no honest motive in the human heart. If the creed of the atheist were true, man would have no good reason for believing it, for truth itself would lose all its value. Right and Wrong, have no meaning, but for a responsible hereafter, and that responsibility depends entirely upon the existence of a moral ruler of the Universe. Man is the only animated being on this globe, who has the sense of Right and Wrong. Take that from him, and his Law is the Law of the Tyger, the Shark, the Vulture and the Rattlesnake. The question between the Atheist and the Deist, is beyond the solution of human reason.

¹ A. H. Everett, *An Address to the Philermenian Society of Brown University, on the Moral Character of the Literature of the last and present Century*, delivered at Providence, September 4, 1837 (Boston, 1837).

Voltaire's only reason for believing the existence of a God was that he could not conceive of a watch without a watchmaker. But when he had the watchmaker, how could he conceive of him without a prior cause. *In the beginning*, says the Book of Genesis, God created the Heaven and the earth. But what was before *the beginning*?

Ante mare et tellus, et quod tegit omnia coelum,
Unus erat toto Naturae vultus in orbe,
Quem dixere Chaos;

says Ovid—but what was before Chaos? The foundation of moral principle is not in the belief of the existence of a God, but in that of man's responsibility to him, and a future state of retribution. Voltaire did not believe this. He believed in a creator of the Universe; but not in his moral Government.

Bolingbroke says that it is desirable to believe in a future state, but that all the phenomena of Nature are against it.

Benjamin Constant argues against all religious principle; but shrinks from his own conclusions. He disclaims infidelity, and professes to believe as much as the protestant faith requires.

Hume, Diderot, D'Alembert, Mirabeau the father, d'Holbach, Condorcet, were cold blooded Atheists, and could therefore have no steady system of morals. The Morals of England in the last age were chiefly sustained by Dr Johnson and Burke; and since them by Mackintosh.

The Morals of France, I fear are very bad, precisely because there is no basis of Religion for them to rest upon. There is a fearful looking for of judgment in Tocqueville's Book on Democracy, as well as in Benjamin [*sic*] Constant. Beranger's Songs are as licentious as any thing in Voltaire or La Fontaine.

The application of your discourse, in your peroration to the young men whom you addressed is admirable.

I wish I could as [*sic*] concur as cordially with you, in the political opinions, which are dividing the Country at this time, as in your views of the Literature of the last and of the present century. The Resolution of the Democratic Convention at Worcester against the annexation of Texas, and the Resolution of the Norfolk Convention, approving my course with regard to the right of petition, were grateful to me, and are entitled to my highest respect. Nor is it without pain that I differ so essentially as I do from the other Resolutions adopted on those two occasions. I had hoped that the calamities brought upon the Country by the headstrong passions, and self-idolizing ignorance of the last Administration, would have operated as a warning to the present.

The leading measures of the administration at the recent Session of Congress have been in my judgment so unwise and so unjust that I found myself compelled to take a stand of the most decided resistance against them. My Speeches in both cases will be published and shew the grounds of my opposition. The extreme injustice of withholding from the Northern States the 4th instalment of the deposit act and of releasing the Southmost and Western States from the obligations of

paying that same money, unaccountably suffered to be accumulated in their banks, was so disgusting to me, that I could not endure to see it unreprieved, especially when I ascertained that the real intention was to deprive the Northern States of the fourth instalment altogether.

I would have consented to a delay of the fourth instalment, and have voted, for both the bills, and for the Treasury Note Bill, if the Administration would have consented by an appropriation of funds to secure the payment at the day, which they were obliged to fix for the term of postponement. They inflexibly refused this pledge, and lost 60 or 70 votes, for their three bills. Upon so small a concession the Administration could have carried all their measures except the divorce or sub-treasury by four fifths of the whole house.

As to the sub-treasury—Bedlam seems to me to be the only place where it could have originated. A War with the *Money* Power, to provide for the collecting, keeping, and disbursing the *Money* of the Nation. A Divorce of Bank and State! Why a divorce of Trade and Shipping would be as wise to carry on the business of a merchant. A divorce of Army and Fire-Arms, in the face of an invading enemy, a divorce of Law and a Bench of Judges to carry into execution the Statutes of the Land, would be as reasonable! But I must refrain.

The movements of the nullification party here, and of their head have not served to recommend the Subtreasury Scheme to the friends of the Union. It came into the House, under the patronage of ultra-nullification. And this, exactly cotemporaneous with a Southern Convention held at Augusta in Georgia against the Commerce and Merchants of the North.

May the day be not remote when we shall harmonize in political opinions, not less than in the estimate of past and present Literature; and may your prospects in future, whether political or literary be prosperous and happy.

Ever your friend

J. Q. ADAMS.





